


HOWARD LETTERS
AND MEMORIES
WILLIAM TALLACK

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HOWARD
LETTERS AND MEMORIES



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THE AUTHOR AND HIS WIFE
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HOWARD LETTERS AND MEMORIES

BY

WILLIAM TALLACK

FORMERLY SECRETARY OF THE HOWARD ASSOCIATION

WITH TWO PORTRAITS

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29/8/07

METHUEN & CO.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON

First Published in 1905

TO THE
DEAR AND HONOURED
MEMORY
OF
MY WIFE

PREFACE

THE following work embodies the history and some of the correspondence of the first thirty-five years of the Howard Association, a Society founded, in 1866, under the patronage of Lord Brougham and others, for the promotion of the best methods of the treatment and prevention of Crime and Pauperism.

It also contains some reminiscences of the Colleagues of the writer, as Secretary of the Association, together with notices of conversations and anecdotes relating to other persons in various positions of life.

The author's duties brought him into connection with a number of individuals in Europe, America, and the British Colonies, practically conversant with important social questions; and the letters, from many of them, which are contained in this volume, constitute a special feature of it which may interest the reader. They include more than a hundred communications from well-known writers, including Cardinal Manning, John Bright, Lord Derby, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Selborne, Archbishop Ullathorne, Bishop Westcott, Lord S. G. Osborne, Dr James Martineau, George Müller, Francis William Newman, Professor Freeman, Professor Max Müller, Matthew Arnold, Barwick Baker, Sir Walter Crofton and others, with some also from American correspondents.

These letters and the accompanying chapters relate to a great variety of subjects, such as the help of the Poor and the Unemployed, Vagrancy, Prison Discipline, Urban Overcrowding, the Rural Exodus, Sentences, Capital Punishment, Temperance, International Arbitration and Peace, the Press, the Churches and Theology, the Colonies, the United States and the European Continent.

The writer's observations and studies, in relation to Heredity, Crime and Pauperism, impressed upon him a strong conviction that such actualities of life have not received, in certain influential quarters, and especially in some Churches, an adequate recognition of their bearing upon the ultimate responsibilities and relations of humanity to the Creator. Hence, in the concluding chapter, he has offered some thoughts on this subject.

The several testimonies, contained in the book, from correspondents, expressing appreciation of the work and efforts of the Howard Association, constitute a pleasing recognition of the labours of its excellent Committee, of whom the author was the willing servant and representative.

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HOWARD

LETTERS AND MEMORIES

CHAPTER I

SOME ANTECEDENTS OF SECRETARYSHIP

Early Impressions—A Wise Adviser—Peter Bedford—Travel, the Pacific—Rarotonga—The Maro Reef—Hawaian Islands, Kauai—The Old California Overland Route—The Pennsylvania State Prison.

AT the age of seventy years, seriously impaired health necessitated the author's retirement from the secretaryship of the Howard Association, which had actively occupied him for more than thirty-five years. As this book is not an autobiography, but a record of the chief features of the work, correspondence, and objects of that Association, only a very few brief references need be made to the previous half of the writer's life.

Various circumstances during his earlier years tended to awaken in him an interest in some of the social and other questions which subsequently claimed a special share of his attention.

The memory of the author's mother, in his childhood, is associated with the subject of the merciful and considerate treatment of offenders, for he saw her on one occasion take a plate of food, as an expression of sympathy, to a poor man who, for some petty misdemeanour, was fixed by his legs in the stocks in front of the parish church at St Austell, Cornwall. That mode of punishment has long been abolished, yet it possessed certain advantages, in some cases, as compared with the stigma, the duration, and the cost of imprisonment.

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The writer's long-cherished opinion of the utility of the Allotment System, and of facilities for an extensive acquisition of gardens, or plots of land, by the rural population, is also associated with his recollections of childhood; for his father, Thomas Tallack, was an early advocate, in the Cornish press and in other ways, of allotments of land for cottagers; and about the year 1830 he and three other residents in the neighbourhood of St Austell—Mr Robert G. Lakes, J.P., Mr Julyan Glanville, and Mr William E. Geach—commenced on a small scale, in the adjoining parish of Tywardreath, an annual distribution of prizes for the best fruit, vegetables, and flowers grown by the cottagers of the locality. This attempt soon developed into a well-supported organisation, "The Tywardreath Cottage Gardening Society," which still exists and holds its annual exhibitions, to the general benefit of the horticulture of the district and especially of that of the labouring population. Its success also led to the establishment of similar societies and exhibitions, both in other parts of Cornwall and elsewhere.

The author's parents habitually manifested a compassionate regard for the poor, and were exceedingly kind to animals. They had a pony which, through their care of it, lived to be thirty-six years old. In regard to various classes of social offenders, they were accustomed to recognise the powerful influences of environment and heredity. In subsequent years the writer's own observations have increasingly impressed upon him a conviction of the mighty and extensive operation of such influences.

In the writer's study of social questions he has been constantly impressed with the variety and diversity of the points of view from which they need to be regarded; and further, that it is of great importance to bring an impartial and unprejudiced mind to the investigation of these and kindred problems. He has endeavoured to do this throughout his life; and he derived a special impulse in this direction, during his youth, from many conversations with Mr Francis Barratt, of Elm Terrace, St Austell, a gentleman

of great experience and extensive observation, and a large employer of labour as a mine-manager. He used often to express his sense of the value of a just impartiality in dealing with social, political, and religious subjects ; and he had a habit, like Socrates of old, of putting questions to his friends which compelled them to test their own conclusions respecting matters under discussion. His sense of humour and his shrewdness rendered his remarks very interesting as well as instructive. He was a generous and considerate friend of the mining population of the district in which he resided ; and on his tombstone, at the old cemetery of St Austell, is inscribed the well-deserved epitaph : " Having served his own generation by the will of God " (Acts xiii. 36).

Mr Barratt at various times superintended the working of mines in the Crinnis Valley and at Par, and also in the more immediate neighbourhood of St Austell. About the year 1840 these localities were the scenes of great activity and prosperity. But gradually a great change passed over Cornish industry, owing to a cheaper supply of tin and copper from the East Indies, Australia, and other countries. Mine after mine was abandoned, and thousands of Cornishmen had to leave their native land and seek employment abroad.

The writer was amazed, in revisiting the Crinnis Valley and other places in the vicinity of St Austell in 1901, after long absence, to see the alteration that had taken place in the district. He remembered it, in his youth, a scene of busy, noisy life, crowded with workers, waggons, and horses, and having many steam-engines, with other machinery in motion by day and night. When he returned in later life he found it reconverted into pasture-land in some parts and left as a wilderness in others. In many other localities in Cornwall a similarly striking change has taken place. Industry and commerce have their vicissitudes as well as individual human lives.

Mr Barratt's son, Mr Francis Barratt, jun., and one of his grandsons, Mr Francis Layland Barratt, sometime M.P. for Torquay, were also characterised by their active and liberal

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promotion of local interests and improvements, both in Cornwall and Devon.

For many years previous to the author's secretaryship of the Howard Association, he was privileged with the friendship of a venerable Quaker named Peter Bedford, a retired silk merchant, most of whose life had been spent in Spitalfields, where he had been an active benefactor to the poor and a restraining influence amongst many of the criminal class. He had long exerted himself in endeavours connected with the objects to which the Howard Association subsequently directed its attention. The writer's own interest in matters of penal and social reform was much increased by his many conversations with this excellent man.

In conjunction with Dr Stephen Lushington (afterwards Judge of the Court of Arches), Mr Crawford (afterwards Inspector of Prisons), Mr (afterwards Sir) Thomas Fowell Buxton, Mr Basil Montagu, Mr William Allen, F.R.S., and others, Peter Bedford became a visitor to Newgate in the early years of the nineteenth century, some short time before Mrs Fry commenced her long-continued work of benevolence in the same prison. The same group of gentlemen, by their subsequent influence with the Government and with leading members of the legislature, such as the Duke of Gloucester, Lord Brougham, Lord John Russell, William Wilberforce, Sir Robert Peel, and others, were able to secure important reforms in the condition and oversight of British prisons, which had, even in the Metropolis, become almost as insanitary and as badly managed as in the period before John Howard began his labours. Sir T. Fowell Buxton's services in particular were very helpful in this direction.

When Mr Bedford came to reside in Spitalfields, executions were frequent, both in London and throughout England, and scores of offences were punishable with death. Mr Bedford became strongly convinced of the peculiar disadvantages and dangers connected with that penalty. His interest in the question was specially aroused by the execution, in 1816, of a youth named John Knight, of

Spitalfields, who had been sentenced to death on a charge of stealing a watch. But after the sentence, Mr Bedford ascertained that another person was the real thief, and actually induced the latter to confess the act, and, bringing the watch, to accompany him and Dr Lushington, with Mr Buxton, to the Home Office. The Secretary of State at that time was Lord Sidmouth, who was not accustomed to err on the side of mercy, and could make himself offensive even to such persons as Dr Lushington and Mrs Fry. On this occasion he refused to see the real culprit, gave an unsatisfactory reply to the earnest pleadings of his visitors, and finally left the law to take its course. Accordingly poor Knight was hanged.

Another strange case, about the same date, illustrated to Mr Bedford the frequent or general failure of capital punishment to deter offenders ; for one of his own colleagues on a philanthropic committee, a person who had taken an active part in prison visitation, and had on one occasion spent the last night in the condemned cell at Newgate with a young man who was executed the next morning for forgery, committed the same crime himself a year subsequently.

The last execution for forgery took place in 1829, and Mr Bedford laboured assiduously, with many others, to induce the Government and the legislature to remove the extreme penalty from that crime.

He was grieved at the gross ignorance and social neglect of the poor when he came to Spitalfields. A Parliamentary Committee in 1815 found that in 2091 families in that part of London, 2565 children from six to fourteen years of age had no education, and that about seven-eighths of that class in general were similarly destitute of instruction. Consequently, they almost necessarily became thieves, pick-pockets, and prostitutes, and in fact were, as to their morals and spiritual condition, "destroyed for want of knowledge," and in particular through their ignorance of God and of the Bible. Mr Bedford and his friends were able to do a little in the promotion of local education, but it was not until

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many years later that effective progress was secured in this direction, or that reformatories, refuges, and industrial schools were instituted to take the place of the jail and the gallows in dealing with juvenile offenders.

Mr Bedford's kindness and sympathy with the local poor gained him their grateful regard, and even many of the thief class placed confidence in him and became more or less amenable to his persuasions. He was able, on several occasions, to obtain from them the voluntary restoration of stolen property. One day, when walking down Bishopgate Street, two young pickpockets saw him, and one of them said to the other, "There goes a gentleman with a good watch, I'll be bound ; and I'll have it."—"No, you shan't," replied his companion, "you don't know who that is ; it's Mr Bedford." No attempt was then made upon that watch.

Mr Bedford's last days were spent in retirement at Croydon, where he manifested much kindness to the boys in the Friends' School, and to the soldiers in the barracks, and others. He always took much interest in the welfare of young men, often invited them to his house, and gave them wise counsel. Although a bachelor all his life, he habitually advised his young friends to marry when circumstances rightly permitted them to do so. He was of a genial and jocular disposition, and maintained an easy, comfortable style of living.

As an "elder" amongst the Friends, it was sometimes his duty to accompany their preachers during their ministerial visits. On one of these occasions he went to Windsor with a Friend named Thomas Shillitoe, to present a religious address to King George the Fourth, by whom they were courteously received. Mr Shillitoe had, some years previously, a similar interview with the same monarch ; and there is a tradition that the king, on his deathbed, exclaimed, "Oh, that Quaker, that Quaker !" as if his memory was recurring with special interest to the earnest words of his former visitor, or to his own insufficient regard to them.

Mr Bedford accompanied another Quaker minister to Windsor, by appointment, to present an address to King William the Fourth, who not only welcomed their errand but also invited them to have an interview with Queen Adelaide. She was much gratified on Mr Bedford's availing himself of the opportunity to inform her that her patronage of Spitalfields silk had been very helpful to the poor weavers of that locality.

He took an American Friend, named Nathan Hunt, to visit a small meeting of Quakers in Essex. After sitting for some time in silence, as usual, the preacher, who possessed a remarkable gift of seership, began a sermon with the words: "This is a strange sort of a meeting for worship. There is one man here who thinks himself the cleverest person in the county, but has not the true knowledge. There is another who sweeps the heavens with his telescope and does not savingly know the God who made them; and there is another who goes to market and sells his beasts and farm-produce and comes here to think over his profits." Peter Bedford felt anxious and uneasy at hearing these words, for he feared that the local Friends would conclude that he had been giving the stranger unfavourable information about them, which he had not done. The American had known nothing about them except through his seer-faculty, which had, however, enabled him to describe correctly the persons alluded to. The first was a man who used to make astronomical, or astrological, calculations for a popular almanac; the second was also a scientific Friend well known in the neighbourhood, and the third was a prosperous farmer.

Peter Bedford always adhered to the old Quaker modes of dress and speech, and was much displeased with a brother "elder" who publicly favoured their abandonment, and to whom he sorrowfully remarked, "This is the fall of a standard-bearer!"

Peter Bedford was, like his divine Master, "a friend of publicans and sinners"; for their good. He died in 1864, aged

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eighty-four, two years before the establishment of the Howard Association. After his decease his friends erected, in memory of him, a large building in Spitalfields, near his former residence, and containing mission-halls and school-rooms. It is named the Bedford Institute.

The Howard Association has always made a wide distribution of its literature amongst the British Colonies and the United States, and has repeatedly been able to assist the cause of Penal Reform in those countries. The author's interest in them had been greatly deepened through the opportunities afforded him, in previous years, by some engagements as a travelling companion. He had thus been enabled to visit Australia, Tasmania, Canada, and the United States, and had become acquainted with many of their special conditions and institutions under circumstances more satisfactory than any mere reading could have furnished.

In later years, also, the Association was repeatedly requested to invite the British Government to intercede with the authorities of several Mahommedan countries, such as Morocco and Turkey, on behalf of cruelly treated prisoners; and a previous visit of the secretary to Egypt had already shown him something of the gross misgovernment almost inseparable from any absolute dominion of Islam.

It is not needful to make further allusion to the writer's travels in the above-named countries in general, but perhaps the reader may be interested in a brief account of so much of one of his journeys as extended from Melbourne to St Louis in 1860, as it took him among several islands of the Pacific, now, as then, comparatively little visited by Englishmen; and it was followed by a trip eastward by the early California Overland Route, the longest coach ride in the world, as it existed at the end of "the old time before the War," and just previous to the final discontinuance of the coach contract with the United States Government.

The Pacific voyage, of three months, was made in a small sailing vessel of less than two hundred tons, carrying four cabin passengers, and thirty-five miners in the steerage,

leaving Melbourne for San Francisco, and, owing to adverse winds, taking a course south of New Zealand, where tremendous waves were encountered which repeatedly threatened to swallow up the little barque; but she kept bravely on her way and ultimately emerged into calmer waters. The Pacific exemplifies two extremes of aspect. It is in some regions exceedingly stormy, but also usually smooth and calm over very wide areas. A French captain remarked, "Most people call this the Pacific, but I call it the Terrific, Ocean!"

After sailing due north for some weeks, we stopped at Rarotonga for supplies of fruit and vegetables. It is a mountainous and well-wooded island. Its hills, although not more than about four thousand feet high, are so peaked and bold in outline as to appear more imposing than some much greater elevations elsewhere. Through their thickly forested slopes many crystal streams run down to the sea. But the most striking feature of Rarotonga is the grand coral reef which encircles it at a distance of a furlong or two from the island itself. Against that reef the Pacific thunders night and day. The great rollers sweep steadily in from afar, and immediately, on their contact with the reef, fly up in snow-white walls of surf, scores of feet high, incessantly falling back again upon the ocean. As our vessel approached the island, this continuing roar afforded a striking illustration of the expression "the sound of many waters"; and that huge, snow-white, re-echoing wall extends for many miles.

Inside the everlasting tumult of these circling breakers there is a calm belt of shallow water, beautiful in its transparency and in the colours of the corals, fishes, shells, and sea-weeds clearly seen beneath the surface. On the reef itself the coral insects enjoy the mighty downfall of salt water; and they will only work at their task of rock-construction amid its spraying deluges.

"Toil on ! toil on ! ye ephemeral train,
Who build in the tossing and treacherous main ;

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Toil on ! for the wisdom of man ye mock,
With your sand-based structures and domes of rock."

At intervals, usually opposite the mouth of a freshwater stream, the coral insects leave a space large enough for boats to enter the lagoon without coming into contact with the thundering wall of surf.

There were some well-built chapels and mission-houses on the island, and it was evident that a great work of civilisation had been accomplished by the influence of Christianity amongst a population previously fierce and murderous in special degree. In more recent years European visitors have undone much of the work of the good missionaries by their introduction of intoxicating liquors, and drunkenness has become a source of much trouble. The island has passed under the protection of Great Britain, but not, hitherto, with consequent advantage in regard to either religion or temperance.¹

¹ The first entry of Christianity into Rarotonga was one of the most remarkable events in the history of evangelisation, for it took place independently, for the most part, of the direct aid of white missionaries, and was mainly the work of a native Rarotongan named Papehia, who landed there, alone, in 1822. The heathen islanders had previously manifested such a threatening attitude to Europeans, and were known to be such a nation of warriors, murderers, and cannibals, that the Rev. John Williams (afterwards martyred at Erromanga in the New Hebrides) and his colleagues judged it imprudent to attempt a landing, and had come to the conclusion to defer indefinitely the evangelisation of the island. But Papehia, a young man who had left Rarotonga in former years for Aitutaki, where he had become converted to Christianity, resolved to risk his life in the endeavour to bring to his native land the blessings of the gospel. He said, "Whether the people kill me or spare me, I will land among them. The Lord is my Shepherd : I am in His hand !" Almost naked, and with a few Tahitian Gospels wrapped up in a cloth, he left the missionary vessel and swam to the shore, where a number of the savages with outstretched spears met him. But seeing his courage, his unarmed condition, destitute of anything to tempt plunder, and recognising in him one of their own speech and people, the Rarotongans permitted Papehia to live ; and for fifteen months he continued solitarily to preach Christ, and by his life to exemplify the doctrine. At the end of that period, two Englishmen, Messrs Tyermann and Bennett, visited the island, and were amazed to find that Papehia had already gathered a Christian congregation who were building a large chapel. For years, much opposition to the gospel continued to be shown by the heathen portion of the islanders ; but Christianity had taken a secure foothold, from which it was never dislodged. In 1827, the first resident

Still keeping near the line of 160° west longitude, we sailed northwards towards the Hawaian Islands. As we approached that part of the Pacific, the captain of the vessel appeared very anxious. He remarked that the ship must be near a certain very dangerous reef, then laid down on his chart as of uncertain position. It was named the Maro Reef, and was to be most carefully avoided, if possible. A day or two afterwards, in the afternoon, the author was writing in the cabin, when the captain called down, "Mr Tallack! Here is a sight for you!" He went on deck and beheld, stretching far along the horizon, a line of angry white breakers, leaping and tumbling over slightly submerged masses of coral. If we had approached so near it a few hours later, when the night would have closed upon us, we should have met with certain destruction upon it. As it was, the daylight still permitted a sight of the danger in time to allow the ship's course to be turned right about to the eastward. Unlike the Rarotonga reef, here was no lofty wall of surf, but a broad area of dangerous breakers, constituting a vast death-trap. Our escape was a matter for humble thankfulness to God. Only a few hours' delay in our previous long voyaging would have involved the approach of the vessel to the reef during darkness, and too late to alter its course.¹

white missionaries, Messrs John Williams and C. Pitman, landed on the island and took up their abode there; and at a subsequent period, Mr Buzacott, Mr Gill, and others did excellent work, until, finally, heathenism became extinct there.

The petty wars which, at intervals, had long devastated that and other islands, ceased under the peaceful influence of the gospel. In 1852 a large gathering assembled to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the landing of Papehia on Rarotonga, and that venerable evangelist was still living to take part in the proceedings. God had wrought great things for Rarotonga, and especially by his own humble instrumentality.

¹ The author has thankfully to remember many other times when he has been preserved from death through dangers both by sea and land. On one of these occasions he was in an express train, which, travelling at the rate of forty miles an hour, came suddenly into collision with a locomotive and tender at Eccles, near Manchester, on October 3, 1877.

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The vessel now sailed to Kauai, the most picturesque of the Hawaiian Islands, on the north-west of that mountainous group, where we anchored in Hanalei Bay, a most beautiful spot. There is a proverb in those islands, "See Hanalei, and then die!" meaning that when one has seen it there is no lovelier place to be witnessed. White coral beaches line the shores; and inland are deep and densely wooded gorges, behind which rises a range of mountains five or six thousand feet high, down whose steep declivities a dozen or more lofty cataracts are seen falling and shining in the sunlight. It is a glorious sight. Clear rivers flow from those hills and rush down to the sea, passing beneath tropical vegetation all the way.

A portion of Kauai is devoted to plantations of sugar, coffee, and rice. The proprietor of one of them invited the writer to stay at his house for the three days during which the ship was at anchor in the bay. This kind invitation was very welcome, there being then no inns on the island. The planter's house was a bungalow raised on a platform four feet above the ground, so as to avoid damp and vermin. At night several lively dogs kept watch on the platform, and gave notice of the approach of any stranger. The views of the mountains, cataracts, and forests from that house were delightful. Immediately surrounding it were plantations of coffee and sugar-cane. Amongst the many varieties of trees on the island the cocoa-nut palm, the bread-fruit, and the guava were abundant.

Accompanied by the planter's son, the writer greatly enjoyed some rides along the coral beaches, through the rushing streams (for there were no bridges then), and up the coast hills, where splendid prospects over land and ocean were constantly opening out. The Hawaiian Islands enjoy floods of sunshine by day, and have heavy rains mostly in the nights. The rainfall in some of the group exceeds two hundred inches per annum. This excessive moisture, in combination with heat and abundant sunshine, produces a most luxuriant vegetation. Beneath the loftier trees

there is a dense undergrowth of bushes, ferns, mosses, and other greenery. It is an island paradise, so far as outward nature is concerned. There are no savage beasts, and few, if any, venomous snakes, in the Hawaiian group.

The climate, together with the extreme fertility of the soil, tends strongly to foster an easy-going and sensuous population on these islands. Licentiousness has been a special besetment, and the original native race has dwindled away, until the present inhabitants mainly consist of foreigners. Christianity has long been the prevailing religious profession of the Hawaiians, but the missionaries have had to contend with difficulties among their converts similar to those met with by St Paul amongst the Corinthians. Yet there has been more than a little of genuine Christian life manifest in these islands, and remarkably so in some instances.

The acquisition of the Hawaiian Isles by the United States has placed the latter country in a position to exercise a large and beneficial influence throughout the Pacific.

It had been the writer's intention to travel by steamer from San Francisco to Panama, and thence direct to New York and Liverpool. But on arriving in California he was informed that a wealthy capitalist in New York had bought up the rival line of Panama steamers and had doubled the previous fares, whilst decreasing the passenger accommodation. This led to an alteration of the writer's plans. Communication with the Central and Eastern States, from California, was still difficult and limited at that period. There was no Pacific Railroad until many years later. In 1860 the Pony Express was established for the conveyance of very light letters, at the charge of a dollar each, across the plains. The old emigrant trains, occupying several months on the way westward from the Mississippi Valley, were still bringing settlers to California, whilst others came by steamer *viâ* Panama. But the most expeditious route for passengers between San Francisco and the East, at that time, was taken by the Butterfield U.S. Mail Company,

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which accomplished the distance of 2868 miles between that city and St Louis in rather less than twenty-four days and nights (the schedule time) of continuous travel. The writer concluded to adopt that route, and after a very enjoyable stay of a fortnight in San Francisco, left it, on his eastward journey, on his twenty-ninth birthday, June 15, 1860.

The Butterfield "coaches" were light, narrow vehicles named "New Hampshire waggons," carrying six through-passengers, in addition to the mail-bags, which, containing about 12,000 letters, were thrust between and under the passengers' feet. The latter were therefore restricted as to space. The coaches were curtained at the side, but admitted of a good view of the scenes passed through. The fare for the entire journey was 150 dollars, exclusive of meals, which were charged at various rates, varying from half-a-dollar to a dollar each. The horses were changed at intervals of from twelve to thirty miles. Some of the stopping-places were mere shanties, easily destroyed and easily renewed. Opportunity was afforded for two meals, occasionally three, in each twenty-four hours, but at various times of the day or night. The food consisted mostly of bacon or venison, with bread or biscuit, Indian corn, and beans, with coffee or tea. Milk and ordinary vegetables were usually absent. Forty pounds' weight of luggage was allowed to each passenger, and was carried behind the coach. It had to be sharply looked after, during the various changes.

The letter sacks were occasionally opened at a station, and then the contents would be thrown down on the earth, where any bystander could handle them.

The coaches did not actually reach St Louis, but stopped at Syracuse, to the westward of it, which was then the terminus of a line intended ultimately to reach the Pacific. That first overland railway was not completed until 1869.

The first night in the coach was a wakeful one, but afterwards we slept profoundly, except when roused out at a station, or to cross a river. There was scarcely a bridge in

the whole distance traversed. Ordinary streams were driven through, but the deeper rivers were crossed in large ferry-boats conveying both coach and passengers.

The usual rate of travel averaged about 125 miles every twenty-four hours, varying from a rate of three or four miles, amongst the mountains, to ten or twelve miles an hour over the plains.

The character of the scenery also varied greatly. Between San Francisco and Los Angeles it was picturesque, and in places through a park-like region of fine trees and pleasant glades. In parts, abundance of flowers were observed, such as mimulus, lupin, and the flowering currant. From the plains of the vast central valley of California the eye rested on a grand background of the snow-covered peaks of the Sierra Nevada, 12,000 feet high. As the Colorado Desert was approached, vegetation disappeared and the heat became intense. The wheels raised clouds of dust, which, mingling with the perspiration caused by the temperature, rendered the passengers brown and earth-stained. It was then very refreshing to be able to obtain some tea at a Mexican station. On that occasion one of the little company, a man of the pioneer class, who had been a gold-digger and a horse dealer, exclaimed, "I love whisky; but, such weather as this, give me tea!" The thermometer was 115° in the shade.

The same passenger was, at a certain point in the journey, blamed by one of his companions for taking up too much room, with an accompanying threat that there might be "trouble" if he was not more accommodating. He replied, "If you talk about trouble, I would as soon have trouble as anything else," with a significant look at his pistol and knife. The complainant did not press the matter further. But that passenger was usually civil and quiet. Once, on seeing a rattlesnake close to the coach, he jumped out, killed it, cut off the rattle, and presented it to the writer.

The table-lands of Arizona and New Mexico, about 5000

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feet above the sea-level, are scantily clothed with a peculiar vegetation of spiny and leathery shrubs and trees, chiefly of the cactus tribe. Most conspicuous amongst these is the Petahaya, or Gigantic Cereus, a tree unique in its shape. It grows from ten to thirty or forty feet high, and forms a thick green column, grooved along its entire height and armed with rows of sharp spines, which effectually prevent any one from climbing it. At intervals it sends out a few branches at right angles to the main trunk, but nearly as thick. These turn upwards abruptly, at right angles again. This is its usual mode of growth, but sometimes the branches take a curved direction. The tree has a strange and fantastic appearance. At its top it bears a crown of white flowers, which are succeeded by a fruit somewhat like figs, and which the Indians shoot down with arrows. This strange tree grows over an area about 200 miles from west to east, chiefly in Arizona. That region is a wonderful land of vast chasms, deep cañons or ravines, which are often dark at mid-day; and the mountains rise in terraces and peaks and in all manner of abrupt forms.

In 1860, Arizona and the Mexican frontier were very thinly populated, the whole region being then terror-stricken, owing to the murders and outrages perpetrated, for generations, by the Apache tribe of Indians. Both Arizona and New Mexico were dotted with many graves or mounds, marking the scenes of Apache murders. At one spot we passed by a place called Oatman Flat, after a family of white emigrants who were butchered there. We also took on a new station-keeper for the Butterfield route, to supply the place of another who had just been killed by the Indians. The Butterfield Company managed, in general, to conciliate the Apaches to some extent, and also the fact that the mails belonged to the United States Government had some influence in preventing assaults upon the coaches or passengers. Occasionally, however, they were attacked.

We saw some half-naked and vermilion-painted Apaches at and near some of the stations. These Indians are wonderful

horsemen, and excel all other tribes in the art of defensive war. In that respect, one Apache is a match for many American soldiers. These Indians can conceal themselves, or render themselves practically invisible, in a remarkable manner. In the years during and following the Civil War of 1861-65, they gave the United States an immensity of trouble, and several campaigns and a great expenditure of life and money were required to subdue them and finally to compel them to settle down upon reserved lands allotted to them by the Government. They had been accustomed to torture their captives and victims with atrocious cruelty, and there was no possibility of extending commerce, mining, and civilisation in that region whilst they were at liberty to desolate and terrorise it, as they had done for so long a period. But at length they are quieted, and are no longer the curse of Arizona. In 1860 life and property were far less secure in that State and in New Mexico than at present, owing not only to the savagery of the Apaches, but to that of white desperadoes also. A passenger who travelled a short distance with the coach told the writer that he had recently been amongst a party of eleven men, each of whom had committed at least one murder.

In our journey eastward, after traversing the western part of Texas, we left the desert region behind and entered upon the forest and river lands of the great central valley of North America. In Texas we first observed the beautiful fireflies, at night. In that State, also, we came in contact, at some stations, with the institution of slavery, which was so soon to pass away in conflict and blood.

In the Indian Territory we saw the settlements of the Cherokees and other civilised Indians, some of whom were wealthy and had houses furnished with the luxuries as well as the comforts of life, including, for instance, pianos and marble dairies.

In Arkansas and Missouri we reached the ordinary conditions of civilised life, which in these later times of trans-continental railways are to be found also in Arizona and

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New Mexico, which, at the period of our journey, could only be deemed very partially civilised.

During the whole journey we saw no buffaloes, although they were still existing in multitudes farther north. Their extirpation commenced some ten or fifteen years later. We saw herds of antelopes, multitudes of gophers and prairie-marmots, and occasionally noticed a large tarantula spider, or a "horned toad."

In Arizona we observed some gorgeous sunsets of extreme splendour, and during the whole route only had one storm, the weather being, with that exception, dry and sunshiny throughout. Our stoppages at the stations were very welcome, as affording opportunities, not only for meals, but also for a hasty wash and brush-up. We were glad of the occasional request to get out and walk, when amongst hills or difficult places.

Although the driving was sometimes of a daring character, we escaped upsets, and in that respect were more fortunate than many passengers in those western American coaches. One night, in a narrow ravine and steep descent, three of the four horses broke loose, but were soon caught, and the journey was resumed.

The Butterfield coach-route only continued in use, as such, for a year or two. The war broke it up a few months after the writer passed over it. But another overland coach-route, farther north, from California eastward through Salt Lake City, continued open throughout the war and until the completion of the first Pacific Railroad.

Our journey had been a very interesting one, but we were not sorry, on the twenty-third day from its commencement, to leap down for the last time from the vehicle and to change our dusty and travel-worn clothes and enter a train, which, with its rapid and easy motion, brought us in a few hours into the busy city of St Louis and into the heart again of city life, affording a striking contrast to the preceding three weeks in the wilderness.

The writer stayed four months in the United States and

Canada and visited various public institutions. One which particularly interested him was the Pennsylvania Eastern State Prison, at Philadelphia, which was then the only prison in the country conducted on the separate (not the rigid solitary) system. The members of the Philadelphia Prison Society used to visit the inmates regularly and frequently, as they still continue to do. Two of them accompanied the writer from cell to cell. Good order and cleanliness characterised the place, and the prisoners appeared to be cheerful, well fed, and well employed and instructed.

The separate system there adopted had, in previous years, been greatly misrepresented by Charles Dickens, who, when visiting it, had been grossly imposed upon, by a German prisoner in particular, whose falsehoods and crocodile tears so affected the credulous novelist that he afterwards, in his book entitled "American Notes," gave the public an utterly misleading impression of the management of the establishment. But the prisoner, described in such pitying terms by Dickens, lived forty-two years longer and survived the novelist by fourteen years. Shortly before his death, in 1884, the same man came to the same prison voluntarily and begged as a special favour that, being lonely and homeless, he might be permitted an asylum there. This strange request was granted, and he died a willing inmate of the very institution which, through his own former falsehoods, Mr Dickens had been led to malign.

When the author visited that prison he had no idea that in a few years he would become the secretary of an association specially concerned with questions of prison discipline, or that, forty years later, his own views on that subject would be publicly quoted with approval by a governor of that establishment.

But at the International Prison Congress of Brussels, in 1900, a paper was received from Mr Cassidy, the then Governor of the State Prison at Philadelphia, in which the following paragraph was contained: "Mr William Tallack, Secretary of the Howard Association, in the later edition of

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his 'Penological Principles,' has assigned twelve well-considered reasons in favour of the separate, or cellular, system, with all of which I heartily concur, after nearly fifty years of personal observation, and to which I would venture to add another, namely, economy of administration. The Reports of the Pennsylvania Board of State Charities during a series of recent years, show that the annual cost, per head, of maintaining convicts is about half as much in the separate as in the congregate prisons, a chief reason being the large saving in the smaller number of attendants required for the cellular system."

Prisons on the latter system are still very exceptional in the United States, and the almost universal system there of association amongst prisoners, at least by day, may be one of the causes of the large amount and proportion of criminality in that country. A few of the State and Federal prisons, however, possess some excellent features, such as those at Elmira, Concord, Columbus, Mansfield, Baltimore, Fort Leavenworth, and some other places. In these establishments the inmates have the elements of hope and encouragement constantly operative. They are taught complete mechanical trades, are well drilled in physical exercises, and in many cases have situations provided for them on their discharge.

But the largest proportion of American prisons are the numerous local jails, which are under the comparatively irresponsible care of the sheriffs, usually possessing no special qualifications for criminal management and often pecuniarily interested in the jail expenditure. The inmates are, in general, kept in idleness and depressing companionship, so that, with some honourable exceptions, the United States local, or county, jails, are schools of crime and demoralisation, and are amongst the worst penal institutions in the world.

The increasing adoption in America of Probation Officers for dealing with both juvenile and adult offenders, tends usually to diminish, at least in some degree, a resort to the very objectionable county jails.

CHAPTER II

A COMMITTEE OF PLEASANT COLLEAGUES

The Executive Committee—Sir Robert N. Fowler, Bart., M.P.—Convict Prisons—Court-houses—Mr Francis Peek—Wards of the State—Probation Officers—Vagrancy—Ex-Sheriff Richard Peek—Mr Edmund Sturge—Mr Joseph Cooper and Restitution—Sir John Bowring, LL.D.—Remunerative Prison Labour—The “Separate” System *versus* the “Solitary”—Substitutes for Imprisonment—Sloyd Training—Ex-Sheriff A. A. Croll—Stimulus to Effort—Mr James S. Randell—Mr Joseph J. Fox, F.S.S.—Mr Henry Gurney—Morocco Prisons—Other Members of Committee—Provincial Friends—Patrons—Mr Edward Grubb, M.A.—Social Science Congresses—Mr T. L. Barwick Baker, J.P.—Sentences—Gradual Cumulation of Sentences—The (Acting) Assistant Secretary.

THE responsible control of the Howard Association rested with the Executive Committee, a body formed at the commencement of the Association in 1866. But, as usual with similar organisations, most of the active work and the carrying out of their wishes was left to the Secretary.

And it was a special pleasure and privilege of the author's secretaryship, that, throughout its duration of thirty-five years, he was brought into contact with the many good and interesting persons who constituted its executive and its chief supporters. The Committee was always a harmonious and homogeneous body; for, from the outset, it elected its own members, taking care to avoid men of extreme or impractical views, or such as would be likely to be unacceptable to the friends of the Association generally. Preference was given to persons having experience as men of business or as magistrates.

In the first years of the Association, a Chairman was nominated at each meeting of the Committee; and, in the

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intervals between the meetings, the Secretary relied for direction and help upon him and upon the Treasurer, Mr (afterwards Sir) Robert Nicholas Fowler, M.P. Subsequently Mr Francis Peek accepted the office of permanent Chairman of the Association. In these gentlemen, in particular, together with Mr Edmund Sturge and Mr Joseph Cooper of Walthamstow, the Secretary found most estimable friends and wise counsellors.

The main object of the Association, namely, the promotion of the best methods of the treatment and prevention of crime and pauperism, was one in which the philanthropic persons and magistrates who constituted the Committee felt a deep and practical interest.

Sir R. N. Fowler, Bart., M.P., was the first Treasurer of the Howard Association. He repeatedly used his good offices with Home Secretaries, and in the House of Commons, on behalf of objects for which his aid was invited by the Committee. Being generally to be found at his bank in the City, he was very accessible to them and to their Secretary. He was a most estimable and genial person, and very popular amongst all classes of the community. He had been brought up as a member of the Society of Friends, but subsequently joined the Church of England. He maintained, however, pleasant relations with his old Quaker associates, and also with his acquaintances amongst the Liberal Party, although himself a strong Conservative.

One of the matters to which the Association directed special attention during its earlier period of operation, and in which Sir Robert actively interposed, was the frequency with which serious abuses occurred in the English convict prisons at that time. Thus, twice in one year (1872), the Committee had to bring before the Government the subject of numerous self-mutilations and other injuries amongst the convicts at Chatham Prison, where, out of 1692 inmates, there were, in the previous year, 1725 admissions to the hospital, or more than one admission for every prisoner on

the average. There were, during that year, 20 deaths, 487 contusions from accidents, with 17 cases of convicts purposely fracturing their arms and legs by thrusting them under waggons and engines, and 24 other cases of self-inflicted wounds caused by the desperation of the prisoners. The convicts at Chatham were also so badly fed that many of them were glad to eat the frogs and earth-worms which they found during their daily out-door labour. At the same period, many serious abuses were prevalent in the other convict establishments. The Howard Association continued to urge attention to these evils, both in Parliament and in the newspaper press, and not without effect.

At the request of the Association, also, Sir Robert N. Fowler several times represented to the Government the need for increasing the pay and lessening the hours of duty of the warders or subordinate officers, both of the convict and local prisons, who were then overworked and underpaid. Much improvement in these respects has taken place.

The continued protests of the Howard Association, and of its Parliamentary friends and others, respecting the abuses in convict prisons, led to the appointment of a Royal Commission on the Penal Servitude Acts, in 1878, of which the Earl of Kimberley was Chairman. The Secretary of the Association was twice summoned to give evidence before that body. The final recommendations of the Commissioners, in their Report, proposed various reforms which had been perseveringly urged upon the attention of the authorities by the Howard Association; and since that time many improvements have taken place, both in the convict prisons and in the local jails of the country.

Sir R. N. Fowler also rendered much assistance in efforts to ameliorate the condition of the cells and places of detention in connection with Assize and Sessions Courts, in which he had the co-operation of Justice Sir A. Wills, together with Sir John H. Kennaway, Bart., M.P., and Sir Joseph W. Pease, Bart., M.P., both of whom were also members of the Howard Association.

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During the year 1886, the Association actively corresponded with local authorities on this subject, and prepared, for distribution amongst them, a summary of the various Reports received respecting the condition of the assize and court-house cells. It was found that in some places a shocking state of affairs existed, even at that period of the Victorian era, in regard to the detention of prisoners awaiting trial. In certain localities there were no precautions taken to separate the sexes, and in others there was the grossest absence of decent sanitary arrangements. In various instances the accused persons were detained for hours in small dark boxes, or cupboards, in which they could scarcely turn round.

The Home Office authorities acted with energy in relation to these abuses; but in some places they met with great reluctance, on the part of the local magistrates and others, to incur the expense involved in the necessary alterations. Ultimately, however, a general improvement took place in the court-house accommodation, in most districts.

The conflicting statements which were received by the Association in relation to this matter illustrated afresh one of the usual experiences of that body, namely, that it is almost impossible to raise a public objection to any existing abuses, without having to meet, from some quarters, expressions of surprise or indignation that any fault can be found with the existing arrangements.

In various other efforts Sir R. N. Fowler co-operated energetically with the Howard Committee. His activity in almost every department of public life was immense. He twice filled the office of Lord Mayor of London, and to universal admiration, and, both in public and private life, he manifested a remarkable consistency as a devout Christian. Even during his mayoralty, he used to preach occasionally in some of the metropolitan chapels. His sudden and unexpected decease, in the prime and vigour of life, was sorrowfully felt by his colleagues of the Howard Association and by innumerable others.

Sir Robert was unaffected and easy in manner and dress. His usual hearty salutation of "How do? How do?" on meeting his friends, was one of his minor characteristics. His voice, although loud, was a very cheery one, and had an enlivening effect whenever he entered either a private house or a public assembly. It was a welcome sound in the lobby of the House of Commons. His son, Sir Thomas Fowler, became Treasurer of the Howard Association after his father's death. But in a few years the baronetcy became extinct, for Sir Thomas went out to South Africa in command of a regiment of Wiltshire Yeomanry, and was killed in one of the very last skirmishes of the Boer War.

Mr Francis Peek, the Chairman of the Howard Association for many years, was, like Sir R. N. Fowler, a prominent man in London city life. He was a member of the first elected School Board for London, and earnestly endeavoured to secure a religious element in popular education. With this desire, he munificently presented £5000 for the regular distribution of "the Peek Bible Prizes" amongst the pupils of the City Board Schools, on condition that the Religious Tract Society should give a similar amount, and also undertake the future administration of the fund. That body accepted the stipulation, and the prizes have been periodically distributed. Mr Peek made strenuous efforts to induce the Government to grant increased aid to the Voluntary Schools, in the interests of religion. He deeply regretted that so many persons desired either to eliminate biblical instruction from public elementary schools, or to limit its communication to such hours and conditions as would practically shut out most of the children from it.

When he was seeking election on the School Board, the writer canvassed in some directions for him. The following letter was received, amongst others on that occasion, from the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury :—

" ST GILES' HOUSE, CRANBOURNE, SALISBURY,
November 15, 1873.

"DEAR MR TALLACK,—My dislike and fear of the

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London School Board are so strong that I cannot bring myself to take any individual part in the elections, so I have not joined the committee of any one candidate. As for Mr Peek, though I cannot be a member of his committee, I heartily wish him well.—Your obedient servant,

“SHAFTESBURY.”

Mr Peek was an attached member of the Church of England, and of broadly Evangelical views. He devoted large sums of money, during many years, to the building or maintenance of churches, refuges, and schools, and was a liberal supporter both of the Salvation Army and “the Church Army.” He built three suburban churches entirely at his own expense.

From the time when he became Chairman of the Howard Association he took a lively interest in its operations, and influentially controlled its action. He, like Sir R. N. Fowler, held that the honour and authority of God should be a fundamental element in all social reforms and political movements. He viewed with suspicion and dislike those agitations which ignore the dependence of mankind upon divine assistance, and which aim at ameliorations of popular conditions apart from efforts to infuse sentiments of godliness, self-help, purity, and temperance amongst the community. In short, he cordially adopted, in common with his colleagues, the principle concisely expressed by an American theologian, Dr Horace Bushnell, in the words, “The soul of all improvement is the improvement of the soul.”

Mr Peek especially believed in the importance of efforts to win the young to lives of virtue and usefulness. On joining the Howard Association, one of his first acts was to request the Committee to devote particular attention to questions connected with the better training of pauper children. He had observed, with grief, the mischievous effects, both physical and moral, of massing many hundred children in large, barrack-like workhouses or pauper schools, many of whose inmates were habitually afflicted with

ophthalmia and other diseases common to such overcrowded institutions, whilst more than a few of the young girls trained in them passed out into lives of vice.

Agreeably with Mr Peek's suggestion, the Committee set apart a sub-committee to make special endeavours to extend the boarding out of pauper children in cottage homes, but under careful supervision. Much information on the subject was collected and diffused by that sub-committee and their lady - secretary, Miss Mary Jane Catlin (who afterwards became the wife of Mr Robert J. Davidson, a missionary, of the Society of Friends, to the Chinese). An extensive correspondence with *Guardians of the Poor* and with philanthropic persons was carried on for several years. Subsequently the movement was taken up and continued with useful effect by a distinct organisation, the "State Children's Aid Society." But Mr Peek was one of the chief pioneers of reform in that direction.

The boarding-out system is almost the exclusive mode of the maintenance of pauper children in Switzerland and in the Australian Colonies. In England, the town of Sheffield has adopted the plan, with specially judicious arrangements. It is also largely resorted to in Scotland.

In common with his colleagues, Mr Peek strongly disapproved of the imprisonment of children. In 1875 the Howard Association organised an influential deputation, in which he took part, to urge upon the Home Secretary the abandonment of that practice. (About that date some Cornish magistrates had sent to jail two children, of the respective ages of five and seven years, for a trifling offence.) The Home Secretary, Mr (afterwards Lord) Cross, held out a hope to the deputation that such imprisonments would be discouraged in future. And a great improvement has subsequently ensued in regard to this matter. Mr Peek, however, approved of birching for otherwise incorrigible youthful offenders.

Under Mr Peek's chairmanship, the Howard Association collected and widely diffused information from Massachu-

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setts in relation to the then recent adoption, in that State, of the system of placing juvenile offenders under the care of responsible Probation Officers. These functionaries have control over such young persons, for longer or shorter periods, with power either to permit them to remain with their own relatives, or to have them sent to a reformatory institution, or to a prison, according to their behaviour or misbehaviour whilst under probation. The system has been accompanied by the establishment of special Courts for dealing exclusively with juvenile offenders. It has resulted so favourably in Massachusetts that it has been extended to the treatment of adult offenders also. And it has subsequently been adopted by many other States of the American Union. There is an occasional danger of the officers being open to bribery or corruption, in that country, but, on the whole, the advantages of the system are found to greatly outweigh any partial disadvantage.

The description of the Probation System, as issued by the Howard Association, attracted much attention. The then Home Secretary, Sir W. Vernon Harcourt, had it reprinted and issued as a Parliamentary paper. And Sir Walter Crofton, the Chairman of the Irish Prison Commissioners, wrote to the Secretary of the Association (in 1881): "I presided at a meeting of managers of Reformatories and Industrial Schools held at Bristol last month, and I was glad to bear testimony to the value of your account of the procedure as to juveniles in the State of Massachusetts. I have written an article in *Good Words*, and have quoted your account at considerable length."

In the Australian Colonies, in particular, much interest was manifested in that paper of the Association; and it exercised a definite influence in stimulating legislative action there, for an improved treatment both of pauper children and juvenile offenders.

In a letter, received by the author in 1903 from Mr James P. Ramsay, Probation Officer at the Supreme Court at Lowell, Massachusetts, he stated that out of 223 persons,

both adults and juveniles, who had come under his care during the previous year, 70 per cent. of all the cases except drunkenness resulted favourably; and even with the drunkards, a satisfactory effect ensued in 42 per cent. of instances. There is a special advantage in placing such persons under the continuing control, or vigilance, of an authoritative caretaker for certain periods.

Mr Peek made active efforts, in the neighbourhood of his suburban residence, to induce the local magistrates to enforce the existing laws for the diminution of Vagrancy and Mendicancy, and, for some time, with considerable success. But after a while, the magistrates relaxed their energy; the police then found their efforts no longer adequately supported, and matters fell back into their previous condition.

The Howard Association, in 1882, instituted a careful and extensive series of inquiries respecting Vagrancy, and embodied the results in a pamphlet to which wide circulation was given. The Committee recommended, amongst other measures, that every applicant for poor-law relief, whether vagrant or otherwise, should promptly have his case investigated by some local authority, and either furnished with help on his way, or taken in charge for industrial training sufficiently prolonged to effect a change in his habits.

This is the course adopted, with much success, in Switzerland, where, at the numerous relief stations, workmen travelling in search of employment are freely lodged and fed, provided they bring satisfactory vouchers of respectability. Vagrants without such certificates are handed over to the police.

In 1883 the Kent magistrates, at their annual General Sessions, issued a Report, signed by Earl Sydney, Earl Stanhope, Lord Hardinge, Mr J. G. Talbot, M.P., and others, in which particular attention was invited to the pamphlet on Vagrancy prepared by the Howard Association, in the following terms: "Your Committee would

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recommend the perusal, by individual members of the Court, of the Report of the Howard Association, before referred to, its object being the education of the public mind in reference to the causes and prevention of the constantly increasing evils of vagrancy and its attendant consequences."

Six months later, the same noblemen and gentlemen issued a further paper in which they again stated: "Your Committee are very desirous that the attention of Boards of Guardians should be directed to the extracts from a Report, recently issued by the Howard Association, with regard to the evils of indiscriminate almsgiving."

Two English counties, Dorset and Gloucester, had for some years greatly diminished their local vagrancy by the establishment of a network of relief-stations and lodging-houses, where all vagrants who could show that they were in search of work could obtain food and lodging. The public knowledge of such a provision, wherever it may exist, tends materially to diminish indiscriminate almsgiving, and thus to check mendicancy. A similar system, but with much more completeness and permanency, has been generally adopted in Germany and Switzerland.

Indeed, Switzerland has been more successful than any other country in the world (except, possibly, New Zealand) in securing measures for the diminution of mendicancy. She has provided an admirable array of relief-stations, about eight miles apart, and under strict but humane rules. Destitute, able-bodied persons who refuse work when offered, and who would otherwise become beggars, are compulsorily detained in industrial establishments; and meanwhile the aged and deserving poor are comfortably cared for.

Of later years, vagrancy has vastly increased in Great Britain. Many thousands of the soldiers discharged after the Boer War joined the immense army of tramps and vagabonds.

Mr Peek wrote a book entitled "The Workers, the

Thriftless and the Worthless," in which again he exposed the evils of mendicancy, a subject on which he, in common with other social reformers, felt strongly. Of course, so long as beggars can earn an ordinary week's wages in a day, by standing outside church doors, or cadging on the roads, or bullying lone women and children, they will continue to prey upon the public. A beggar at Wandsworth remarked, "I never intend to work while I can get sixteen shillings a day and my skinful. It is only fools and horses that work."

Mr Peek, although the head of a large wholesale tea-business, found time to write a number of books and papers on social and religious subjects, including a work on "Social Wreckage," another on "Reason and Revelation," and a further volume on "The English Church, the Priest and the Altar." He contributed various articles to the *Contemporary Review*, and wrote some excellent letters in the *Times* newspaper. He would repeatedly send for the Secretary of the Howard Association and request him to collect facts and figures for him on certain subjects, and it was a pleasure to comply with these requests. The meetings of the Committee were sometimes held in Mr Peek's office. He once remarked to the Secretary, "My ideal of a committee is a committee of two, with myself in the chair and with the casting vote." But although he liked to exercise a certain masterful authority, as Chairman, yet he was by no means difficult to get on with. His colleagues and their Secretary had so much in common with him, so much identity of feeling, of opinion, and of aim, that they all worked harmoniously and pleasantly together.

Mr Peek was a vigorous manager of the extensive business under his control, but also kind and sympathetic towards those in his employ. On one occasion, a serious mistake had been made by the head of one of the departments, and no satisfactory cause being adduced, Mr Peek said to the offending subordinate, "If you cannot avoid such

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blunders we must find some one who can." The answer was, "It shall not occur again, sir." To which Mr Peek replied, "Then you, yourself, shall be that person." He retained and subsequently promoted the individual.

Mr Peek died in 1899. A large company followed his remains to the grave, in Shirley Churchyard, near Croydon, on a day sunshiny and beautiful with the peace of autumn—a peace and brightness in harmony with the life and character of the deceased.¹

¹ Mr Francis Peek's connection with the Howard Association had originated in the interest which he felt in reading a pamphlet which the Secretary had written at the request of his uncle, the venerable founder of the firm of "Peek Brothers," Mr Richard Peek, formerly Sheriff of London. The career of that gentleman was an interesting one.

Richard Peek was the son of a poor mole-catcher, near Kingsbridge, Devon. He became a grocer's assistant in Plymouth, but about the year 1805 he was balloted for the militia. In order to escape military service, he ran away to London; but before quitting Plymouth, he, with a sympathising friend, prayed for God's blessing and help. He arrived in the great city with scarcely any money. A humble Devonshire acquaintance in Bermondsey allowed him to sleep in a corner of his own room for a few nights. Meanwhile Richard Peek looked out for employment. He again prayed for divine help, and out of the very little money remaining to him he assisted another poor person. Seeing a Quaker crossing London Bridge and liking his face, he accosted him and asked if he could procure any employment for him. The Friend, being pleased, in his turn, with the young countryman, exerted himself successfully on his behalf and got a situation for him, as a porter, with a Quaker firm of tea-merchants. The latter, finding that he already possessed some knowledge of the business, soon promoted him to a clerkship. He gave such satisfaction that he became a traveller for the firm and obtained many customers for them. At his suggestion his brother William Peek (the father of Mr Francis Peek) was also taken into the service of the same employers.

Richard Peek at length proposed that his employers, whom he was serving so successfully, should take him into partnership; but they did not comply with this suggestion; whereupon he and his brother concluded to set up in business on their own account, and having obtained, from a friendly broker, a loan of £1500, they founded the well-known firm of "Peek Brothers" and rapidly became wealthy and influential men. Richard Peek attained the honour of being Sheriff of London. In his old age he retired to his native Devon, where, in a picturesque valley, at Hazlewood, near Kingsbridge, he built a comfortable mansion which he rendered a centre of good influence for many miles around.

He retained his early dislike of compulsory military service, and having met with some papers by the Secretary of the Howard Association which interested him, Mr Peek suggested to him the preparation of a pamphlet advocating the

Mr Edmund Sturge was for many years an active and highly esteemed member of the Howard Committee, and practically fulfilled the functions of its honorary secretary. He had previously resided in Birmingham, but afterwards divided his time between London and Charlbury, in Oxfordshire.

He was a brother of Mr Joseph Sturge, a man of similarly philanthropic energy, who, like himself, devoted much time and labour to the service of the Anti-Slavery cause.

Edmund Sturge resembled George Washington both in features and dignified aspect. He was part proprietor of estates in the island of Montserrat in the West Indies, and was therefore specially conversant with questions relating to the condition of negroes and coolies. For many years he was a constant visitor to the lobbies of the House of Commons, in order to interest members of the legislature in the several objects of philanthropic effort which were so dear to himself.

He wore a wig, for he had lost all his hair in a brief illness. A few days later some of his friends were assembling for a committee meeting of which he was a member, and presently one of them exclaimed, "Edmund Sturge has not come yet. I never knew him unpunctual before." — "I am here," responded a quiet voice, and on turning round, his colleagues could hardly recognise their old friend in his suddenly altered appearance. He had a strong objection to wearing an overcoat, even in winter, and used to walk with a noiseless tread, as if his shoes had felted soles.

appointment of a High Court of Nations for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. On this being written, he paid the expenses of its printing and distribution. He also invited the writer to visit him at Hazlewood, where the latter spent several very pleasant days. The situation of Mr Peek's house was a charming one, on a steep hillside overlooking extensive woods and a clear stream flowing down from Dartmoor. It had a covered gallery around its sides, forming a pleasant promenade in the showery weather so frequent in Devonshire. Near the house Mr Peek constructed some catacombs of massive granite, to which he transferred the remains of his parents, and in which he was laid to rest at the ripe age of eighty-four years.

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He was not a man of many words, but had a dry humour and occasionally indulged in anecdotes. One of these related to a member of a well-known Quaker family whose eccentricities obliged his friends to put him under restraint at times in an asylum. But he managed to escape more than once, and afterwards remarked that he had thus come to appreciate a common Quaker counsel, to "proceed as way may open." On another occasion the same Friend, on re-entering an asylum at York, requested a private interview with the superintendent, which being granted, and the two sitting for a little while in silence, the new inmate suddenly exclaimed that he had been thinking of the precept, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might," and forthwith he struck the superintendent violently.

Mr Sturge was the subject of one of the cartoons in *Vanity Fair* (November 20, 1886). In the accompanying letterpress the journalist remarked of him: "No kindlier, simpler, gentler, more upright and honourable a soul ever informed a human body than that which is enveloped in the Quaker outside of Mr Sturge. He is a good, honest creature."

At Charlbury, Mr Sturge used to take his friends into the glades of the adjacent Wychwood Forest and into Cornbury Park, which contains some of the finest beech-trees in England. Mrs Sturge was as devoted to the interests of humanity, and especially to the Anti-Slavery cause, as her husband. They lived long enough to celebrate their golden wedding.

On that occasion the Committee of the Howard Association presented them with an illuminated address of congratulation. In it they recorded: "The Committee gladly avail themselves of this opportunity of conveying to their esteemed friend and colleague, Mr Edmund Sturge, the expression of their profound sense of the value, to this Association and to other kindred bodies, of his services, and of his sound judgment and long experience."

At an Anti-Slavery meeting at the Mansion House, London,

Mr Sturge's labours in the cause of humanity received public recognition from the Prince of Wales and several eminent statesmen. He died in 1893, aged eighty-four, and was buried at Charlbury. He was a man of a truly noble character.

Mr Joseph Cooper, of Essex Hall, Walthamstow, was an intimate friend of Mr Sturge, and like him was a member of the Committees both of the Howard Association and of the Anti-Slavery Society. He was an intimate acquaintance and correspondent of two eminent American statesmen actively concerned in the Anti-Slavery movement—Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, and Senator Charles Sumner. His philanthropy was cosmopolitan and world-wide.

He repeatedly advised the Secretary of the Howard Association to study, and seek to interest the public in, the old Mosaic principle of both correcting and punishing offenders, in so far as practicable, by compelling them to make restitution to the injured. The Secretary on various occasions discussed this question, in the newspapers and also at Prison Congresses. He took part in an interesting debate on this subject at the Stockholm Congress of 1878. On that occasion Sir George Arney, Chief-Justice of New Zealand, stated that in that colony special legislation for the native population had adopted the plan of punishing theft by permitting the offender, in lieu of imprisonment, to pay to the injured party four times the value of the property stolen. Repeatedly the Maori chiefs, as responsible representatives of their tribes, paid a part or the whole of these fines, and a general good effect resulted; for not only was justice done to the injured individual, but thefts became increasingly unpopular, owing to their unprofitableness both to the offender and to his tribe.

At the suggestion of the Permanent Committee of the International Prison Congresses, the writer and others prepared papers on this question for the Brussels Congress of 1900. A lively discussion upon it took place in that assembly, where it was shown that, notwithstanding many

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difficulties, some progress in securing the object in view has been made in recent years in Austria, Germany, Spain, and Norway. The Congress formally placed on record a recommendation that, by legislative action in the various nations, facilities for the better enforcement of restitution, by civil process, should be increased.

The subject of remunerative prison labour was one which on various occasions claimed much attention on the part of the Howard Association. Two of its members in particular took a special interest in it, namely, Sir John Bowring, F.R.S. (formerly Governor of Hong-kong), and Colonel Angus A. Croll, at one time Sheriff of London. The subject was also specially urged upon the Committee by their correspondent, Dr F. J. Mouat, who was for many years an administrator of the prisons of Bengal. He considered that the extent to which, in any prison, remunerative labour was carried out, was also the measure, in general, of its reformatory success.

Sir John Bowring, as a magistrate of Devon, once conducted the writer over Exeter Jail, and drew his attention to the occupation of many of the inmates, at that time, in breaking stones for the local highways. He did not consider such work to be advantageous to the prisoners on their discharge; but Mr Charles Sturge, Mayor of Birmingham, informed the Howard Association that many hundreds of pounds were at one period annually earned for the prison there by the stone-breaking of the inmates.

Sir John Bowring, in common with other students of this question, was, however, aware that so long as habitual misdemeanants are recommitted to prison merely for a few weeks, time after time, there can be no opportunity of establishing either good industrial or moral habits. Hence the gradual cumulation of sentences on inveterate offenders lies at the foundation both of their profitable employment and of their reformation.

Sir John Bowring, soon after the establishment of the Howard Association, recommended the Secretary to visit Holland and Belgium, in order to study the prison systems

of these two countries, which had taken a leading position in penal reform. He furnished him with an introduction to his friend, the venerable William Henry Suringar of Amsterdam, who, although then an octogenarian, was still actively engaged in the administration of the Dutch prisons, and has been styled "the John Howard of Holland." He received the writer very courteously and gave him useful information. He said that after half a century or more of practical experience, extensive observation, and careful study of prison systems, he was firmly convinced that although remunerative industry was an important desideratum for prisoners, yet it was a still more important object to prevent their incarceration from making them worse through mutual corruption, and also to make them better by moral and religious influences, especially by their systematic visitation, whilst in jail, by suitable persons, and by friendly oversight after their discharge.

The experience of some countries has indeed proved that the advantage derived from a considerable amount of remunerative labour in prisons may be more than counterbalanced by the increase of criminality produced by associated labour in them. A Spanish prisoner wrote on the door of his prison, "Here good becomes bad and bad becomes worse"; and that is a description of very many prisons in many lands.

It is important to bear in mind that the "separate" is to be distinguished from the "solitary" system of imprisonment. The former is a merciful, and the latter a cruel one. Mrs Fry, who steadfastly opposed solitude in jails, was of the opinion that "confinement which excluded from the vicious, but allowed of frequent intercourse with sober and well-conducted persons, would be perfect." And further, such "separate" imprisonment should always include industrial occupation, daily exercise, and both secular and religious instruction. The popular ideas of the mischiefs of prison separation are mainly derived from the disastrous effects resulting from the extreme severity and folly of

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some American and other systems of imprisonment, at a former period, when prisoners were shut up in absolute solitude, without occupation, visitation, instruction, or exercise. Of course such a fatuous and criminal method produced ruinous consequences, both to the bodies and minds of the unfortunate persons subjected to it; and against such modes of prison discipline the Howard Association has always protested.

But the separate system, when administered with ordinary sense and care, possesses great advantages over the congregate plan. It is more merciful, and also more deterrent. Although at first more costly, it is ultimately much more economical. It affords greater security from escapes, from revolts, and from epidemic diseases. It diminishes the causes of disciplinary punishment, protects the prisoner from recognition by fellow-prisoners after his discharge, and altogether tends to render him a better citizen on his restoration to the community. But even this system should not be enforced for long periods.

At the best, any system of imprisonment is inseparable from some evils. Hence the Howard Association has advocated a resort, as far as possible, to suitable substitutes for imprisonment, such as fines, conditional liberty, and the institution of Probation Officers. By such legislative measures as the "Probation of First Offenders' Act," much progress has latterly been made in this direction in Great Britain.

So far as prisons are necessities, it is desirable to prevent, as much as practicable, the competition of prison industry with free labour, so as not unduly to injure honest workers outside; and this end may be especially secured by the occupation of prisoners in "Sloyd" exercises, that is to say in the use of tools and in mechanical and industrial training, apart from the production of goods for sale. And such "Sloyd" training may indeed qualify a prisoner far better for self-supporting industry, on his discharge, than many forms of ordinary occupation in jails, with a view to immediate profit.

Ex-Sheriff Colonel Alexander Angus Croll (who derived his title from a regiment of Volunteers) was a magistrate of Middlesex and Surrey. He became a member of the Howard Association, and on many occasions invited the aid of the Secretary in furnishing him with information on prisons and crime, and in connection with communications to the press. He took much interest in the question of prison labour, and on several occasions published his views on the subject. He considered that an adoption of "piece work" for prisoners, rewarded either by money or "good marks," would afford the necessary encouragement to them to put forth their utmost endeavour.

Colonel Croll had been a gas-engineer, and by his energy and determination succeeded in breaking down the virtual monopoly of gas-supply which, prior to 1848, existed in London. After years of strenuous effort, and in the face of tremendous opposition by powerful and wealthy rivals, he established the Great Central Gas Company in the city of London. He supplied gas at a lower price than previously, and also of greater purity and brilliancy; in fact, he revolutionised the gas industry of the city. And it was mainly owing to his influence that ultimately the several Gas Companies agreed to apportion amongst themselves the various districts of the Metropolis, so as to avoid the contentions and costly rivalry which had previously been disadvantageous both to the consumers and to the shareholders. In various ways Colonel Croll was a great public benefactor.

For to him also the nation is largely indebted for cheap telegraphy. As Chairman of the United Kingdom Electric Telegraph Company, he successfully negotiated the transfer of the telegraphs to the Government. In acknowledgment of his services in that matter he was publicly presented with a service of plate of the value of £1000.

The ex-Sheriff also supplied London with a new Wool Exchange (in Coleman Street), and a large range of offices and other buildings in connection with it. The planning

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and supervision of some kind of building seemed essential to his happiness. He was a profitable patron to architects and masons.

Both for the interests of prisoners and for commercial success, Colonel Croll appreciated the value of individual encouragement and pecuniary stimulus to action ; and in general, human nature being what it is, duty is often extended and invigorated by being specially encouraged. All classes require and benefit by it ; and its utility is becoming increasingly recognised, as, for example, in the growth of profit-sharing arrangements between employers and employed. The writer has heard a London tradesman remark that in his own business he had gained forty thousand pounds mainly by pecuniary inducements to his assistants to make special exertions to promote his interests. He was a wise man, whose example might with advantage be more widely followed.

With regard to prisoners in particular, it has been observed in many countries that they are far more amenable to the influence of encouragement than of punishment, and to the power of hope than to that of fear. Little gifts of tea, sugar, or tobacco, or small rewards in money, have proved very stimulating, both as to conduct and industry ; and modern British regulations have, with much success extended offers of partial remissions of sentence, or other privileges to prisoners, on the condition of their good behaviour and satisfactory labour.

Mr James S. Randell, of London and Bath, a principal proprietor of the stone quarries near the Box Tunnel, was for many years a regular attender of the Committees of the Howard Association. He was a man of much humour and shrewdness, and withal of genuine piety and large-hearted charity.

He was one of the originators of the modern movement in favour of a State provision for Old Age Pensions, but he did not approve of their being granted independently of a certain measure of previous self-help and personal merit,

inasmuch as they may easily be rendered a source of pauperisation and a check to necessary thrift.

In regard to prisoners, he strongly advocated remunerative prison labour, and queried, "Why should the honesty of the nation be so heavily burdened with its rascality?"

Mr Randell employed a large number of workmen. His kindness to them and to their families gained him their love and esteem. He was highly respected, both for his philanthropy and business ability, in the city of Bath, where he chiefly resided. His practical knowledge of geology won for him the friendship of Sir Roderick I. Murchison, on whose proposal he was elected a Fellow of the Geological Society of Great Britain. He died in 1903 at the age of nearly ninety years.

On one occasion, during the Anti-Corn Law agitation, Mr Randell, who was a Free-Trader, attended a public meeting at Reading, convened in the interests of Protection. One of the speakers said that if the Corn Laws were abolished the value of land would sink almost to nothing. When he took his seat, Mr Randell jumped up and exclaimed, "Gentlemen, mark what the last speaker has just stated! Now, if land will be obtainable almost for nothing, you will all be able to get some of it very cheaply. Therefore vote against the Corn Laws!" These words "brought down the house," and elicited great applause and much laughter at the expense of the Protectionist conveners of the meeting, who themselves were amused at the mode of their own discomfiture.

Mr Joseph John Fox, F.S.S., a surgeon of Stoke Newington, was a member of the Howard Association Committee in its earliest days. One of his cautions has often been remembered and acted upon by the Secretary. It was to the effect that in the calculation and comparison of statistics it is of essential importance to regard their uniformity or their difference of basis. And this caution is needful in reference to criminal statistics in particular, for a great variety of classification, and even of definitions, of crime

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exists in the different nations. And in any single country there may be, at successive dates, changes in statistical classifications requiring great care in subsequent generalisations. For example, the crimes of forgery and burglary have at successive periods undergone various legislative modifications, so as either to include certain offences not previously belonging to these categories, or to remove others to a different class.

Mr Henry Gurney, of Reigate, was appointed Chairman of the Howard Association Committee after Mr Peek's death. He was a great-nephew of Mrs Elizabeth Fry, and nephew of Mr Samuel Gurney, M.P., who had also been, at a previous period, a member of the same Committee.

Mr Henry Gurney was a devoted sportsman, and used frequently to visit Norway for fishing and Morocco for shooting wild animals. His visits to the latter country led to his inquiries into the management of its prisons, which he found in a shocking state. Their inmates were often in a starving condition, and various modes of torture were sometimes practised upon them, such as blinding their eyes or permanently disabling their limbs. Two other members of the Howard Committee, Mr Donald Mackenzie and Miss Charlotte Hanbury, also visited Morocco several times and became much interested in its prisons.

During several years the Howard Association made repeated efforts to procure some amelioration of the Moorish prisons, both by memorials to the British Government for the exercise of its influence with the Sultan and in other ways. At the solicitation of the Committee, the Marquis of Salisbury, as Foreign Minister, requested the British consuls in Morocco to use their endeavours on behalf of a more humane treatment of prisoners in their respective localities. Mr Gurney obtained an interview with the Sultan at Fez, in relation to this subject, and his representations were very courteously received. The Sultan appeared at that time to be sincerely desirous of introducing some improvements into the prison administration. The English Ambassador in

Morocco, Sir Arthur Nicolson, cordially co-operated with the Howard Association in its efforts, and a certain measure of reform ensued.

Mr Gurney and Miss Hanbury, with the aid of some friends, also devoted considerable time and money to the relief of the inmates of the Tangier Prison and to the establishment of a mission-room in that place.

The assumption by France of special control over Morocco in 1904 was a very promising event for the interests of suffering and outraged humanity in that country.

Morocco was not the only Mahommedan nation whose prisoners received help from the Howard Association. An appeal was addressed to it in reference to some cruelly treated prisoners in the Lebanon district of Syria. These also obtained a material amelioration of their condition through the successful efforts of the Association to procure Lord Salisbury's influence with the Turkish Government on their behalf.

Mr Henry Gurney's services as Chairman were very helpful to the Committee and to their Secretary. His philanthropic experiences, his knowledge of persons, places, and affairs, his habitual geniality, and his deep interest in the objects of the Association rendered him a most agreeable and valuable colleague.

Space only permits a brief mention of many other esteemed members of the Howard Committee. Amongst these was Mr Lightly Simpson, Chairman of the Great Eastern Railway, whose wise counsels, business ability, and suave manners made him always welcome.

Mr George Hurst, who had been five times Mayor of Bedford, and who lived to be ninety-nine years of age, was a regular attender of the Committee for many years. Both as a magistrate and as a guardian of the poor he felt much interest in questions relating to crime and pauperism. He took an active part in promoting the erection of the centenary statue of John Howard at Bedford.

Mr George R. Vicars, who had visited many prisons and

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who repeatedly communicated his observations to the press, was also a useful colleague.

Mr Ebenezer Clarke, of Walthamstow, was specially concerned with the questions of temperance, thrift, and the dwellings of the poor.

Mr Stafford Allen and Mr Robert Alsop, influential members of the Society of Friends, were two of the most kind-hearted men who ever lived. They abounded in charity and good works. Mr Allen was a nephew of William Allen, F.R.S., a Quaker of cosmopolitan philanthropy, who enjoyed the friendship of Lord Brougham and the Duke of Kent. The latter invited his assistance in reference to his pecuniary affairs, in which Mr Allen was able to serve him effectually. He had dandled on his knees the duke's little daughter, afterwards the great and good Queen Victoria.

Mr W. W. Baynes, Mr Robert R. Glover, Mr Francis Reckitt, and Mr Champion B. Russell were county magistrates whose experience and knowledge rendered them very helpful advisers to their colleagues.

Mr Charles Smith, of London and Coggeshall, Mr Henry G. Chalkley, Mr Cornelius Hanbury, and Mr Arthur J. Ransome were other helpful members of the Committee. Mr Smith was one of the most regular attenders of its meetings for many years.

Mr Thomas Holmes, a persevering visitor of police courts and a very interesting writer on criminals, was able to give the Committee the benefit of his peculiarly valuable experiences and observations.

Mr James Henderson, one of the Government Inspectors of Factories, was in a position, from his previous long connection with the press, repeatedly to aid the Association and its objects; and Mr Travers Buxton, the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, worthily represented on the Committee a family who had long possessed a peculiarly honourable record in connection with efforts to diminish crime and to improve prison discipline.

Besides the members of the Committee in London, the Secretary often had the privilege of consulting, in the Provinces, many of the friends and supporters of the Association whose experience and counsel were useful to it. Amongst them he always found the magistrates and merchants of Lancashire manifesting a special interest in its objects. In the first year of its existence, the Secretary delivered a lecture on prisons and criminals to a large audience in the Manchester Athenæum, Mr (afterwards Sir) John T. Hibbert, M.P., in the chair. Amongst the audience was Mr John Rylands, J.P. (through the munificence of whose widow the splendid library, bearing his name, has been presented to Manchester). He thenceforward became a supporter of the Howard Association until his decease. The venerable prison philanthropist, Mr Thomas Wright, was also present on that occasion, and publicly expressed his satisfaction with the lecture.

Mr R. A. Armitage, an active visiting justice of the Manchester Prison, was also a very helpful member of the Howard Association during many years. In 1900, in company with the Secretary, he represented the Association as a delegate at the International Prison Congress in Brussels. Mr Hugh Birley, M.P., Sir James Watts, Mr George Rooke, J.P., Mr John King, J.P., and other influential Manchester citizens were also supporters of the Association during many years.

At Liverpool, the friends of the Association included a fine group of the leaders of every good local movement, such as Mr Samuel Smith, M.P., Mr William Rathbone, M.P., and his venerable father of the same name, Mr S. G. Rathbone, J.P., Mr Alexander Balfour, J.P., Mr Thomas Matheson, Mr John Patterson, J.P., Mr Isaac B. Cooke, Mr Thomas Holder, J.P. (Mayor), Mr E. K. Muspratt, J.P., Mr T. Sutton Timmis, and others. To these men, together with some others like minded, such as Mr W. S. Caine, M.P., Rev. R. H. Lundie, Mr A. B. Forwood, Mr W. P. Lockhart, Rev. H. Stowell Brown, Rev. C. Garrett, and

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Canon Lester, Liverpool is immensely indebted for the great improvements in its social, moral, and sanitary condition during the Victorian era.

Sir Titus Salt, Bart. of Saltaire, the Peases and Back-houses of Darlington, the Reckitts of Hull, the Chances, Albrights, Wilsons, Lloyds, Tangyes, and Cadburys of Birmingham, Mr John P. Thomasson, M.P., of Bolton, the Rowntrees of York, Mr Richard Allen of Dublin, and others, were also prominent amongst the provincial supporters of the Association ; whilst, in the metropolis, Mr John Horniman, Mr J. Gurney Barclay, and Mr Frederick Braby, J.P., rendered to it special aid. The principal contributors to the funds of the Association were Mr Francis Peek, Mr Samuel Morley, M.P., Sir Titus Salt, Bart., and Mr John P. Thomasson, M.P.

Mr Morley was a man of noble character and princely munificence. Churches, missions, and religious efforts were the chief objects of his generosity. On his tomb, in Abney Park Cemetery, is the simple but honourable and true inscription, "Samuel Morley, a servant of Jesus Christ."

Mr John Horniman of Croydon, at his death bequeathed to the Howard Association the annual interest of £2000. It constitutes a useful nucleus of assistance to the Committee in their work, which has always been carried on with an income of a few hundred pounds merely.

Two members of the firm of Tangyes, Birmingham, above mentioned, namely, Sir Richard Tangye and his brother Mr George Tangye, J.P., had been school-comrades of the Secretary in their youth, and came from the same county, Cornwall. By their energy and talent as mechanical engineers they developed one of the most successful business undertakings in the country. They made a most generous use of their wealth. Their gifts to the School of Art and other public institutions in Birmingham were princely. By profit-sharing and other arrangements, they rendered the comfort and remuneration of the thousands of men in their employ models for other firms ; and by the

geniality and kindness of their dispositions they won the esteem and admiration of a host of friends.

The Patron list of the Howard Association contained no merely ornamental names. All those whose names were upon it rendered some kind of assistance to it, either as contributors to its funds or as furnishing to it Parliamentary or other aid. Amongst the former class, were two Dukes of Westminster, two Dukes of Bedford, two Earls of Derby, Lord Leigh, Lord Lister, and Lord Chief Baron Kelly. Amongst the latter were Lord Brougham, John, Earl Russell, and the Earl of Lichfield. The Earl of Shaftesbury also cordially approved and assisted some of the work of the Association, but he would not permit his name to appear on its Patron List because he considered that many of its members inadequately appreciated the biblical sanction of capital punishment.

The patrons of the Association in the House of Commons were numerous, and amongst them were the Right Hon. John Bright, Right Hon. Sir John T. Hibbert, Right Hon. Sir John H. Kennaway, Bart., Right Hon. Lewis Fry, Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., Sir Robert N. Fowler, Bart., Sir J. Eardley Wilmot, Bart., Sir Joseph W. Pease, Bart., Sir Howard Vincent, Mr Samuel Morley, Mr John P. Thomasson, Mr William Ewart, Mr William Rathbone, Mr Arthur Pease, Messrs William and Alexander M'Arthur, Mr Samuel Smith, Mr Henry Richard, Mr Charles Gilpin, Mr E. H. Pickersgill, Mr George Palmer, Mr Peter A. Taylor, Mr Samuel Gurney, and others.

A few Church dignitaries were also amongst the patrons, including Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of Chichester (Dr Durnford), the Dean of Durham (Dr Kitching), and the Dean of Llandaff (Dr Vaughan).

When, in 1901, age and illness necessitated the Secretary's resignation, the Committee kindly permitted him to recommend to them as his successor Mr Edward Grubb, M.A., whom they appointed accordingly. He had long been favourably known to many members of the Association

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as an able speaker and writer on social questions. As Secretary he has very efficiently served the Association and its objects. The present writer's secretaryship terminated on December 31, 1901, and Mr Grubb entered on his office with the New Year, 1902.

The Secretary's visits to the annual Congresses of the Social Science Association enabled him to enlist the co-operation of several persons who became useful advisers and correspondents of the Howard Association. On various occasions he also took part in the debates, or contributed papers for discussion. Those gatherings were of an interesting character, and for some years attracted the presence of leading statesmen, jurists, and social-reformers. Lord Brougham, Earl Russell, the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Stanley, and other persons of high position presided over the Congresses or their sections. They were occasions for threshing-out and bringing before the public and the press many questions which subsequently became matters of Parliamentary and administrative action; and in this way they exercised an important influence, so long as the central Committee in London retained the arrangements in their own hands and insisted on adherence to the programmes of procedure laid down by them. But after awhile this care was relaxed, and, at the later Congresses a number of provincial busybodies and faddists were allowed to foist upon the meetings matters of mere local or parochial interest, which bored and wearied the regular attenders, besides throwing into confusion the previous arrangements. Thus the Social Science Association gradually lost its earlier reputation and became an object of indifference and even of ridicule.

But in its better days it accomplished much good, and afforded centres of meeting for men and women from all parts of the kingdom who were interested in social and legal reforms. The originator and moving spirit of the Congresses was Mr George W. Hastings, M.P., who, as a magistrate and Chairman of Quarter Sessions for Worcester-

shire, possessed a practical acquaintance with many of the matters which were brought forward for discussion. His services, in connection with those gatherings, were very useful; and he was also able, on various occasions, to render valuable aid to the Home Office authorities in particular.

But the success of the Congresses was also greatly indebted to a very modest but active and intelligent worker behind the scenes, Mr James Robinson, the Assistant-Secretary of the Social Science Association. The drudgery of many of the arrangements, the planning and carrying out of the excursions and a number of other necessary functions, owed their accomplishment, year after year, largely to his tact and industry—though his name seldom, if ever, appeared in connection with any public acknowledgments or votes of thanks. The writer often called upon him to talk over matters of mutual interest, and he retains a pleasant and appreciative memory of him.

Amongst others, the Social Science Congresses brought the Secretary of the Howard Association into communication with Mr T. L. Barwick Baker, of Hardwicke Court, Gloucester, Sir Walter F. Crofton, and Miss Mary Carpenter of Bristol.

Mr Barwick Baker was one of the first and chief promoters of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and established on his own estate one of the earliest and best of these institutions. As a magistrate and prison-visitor, he exercised a most beneficial influence, not only in Gloucestershire but in the surrounding counties, whilst his numerous letters to the newspapers were of national interest; but it was on the special question of Sentences that he was a most intelligent authority.

The writer had many letters from Mr Baker on this and other subjects, and always regarded him as a mentor and guide. In a letter received from him in 1886, shortly before his death, Mr Baker remarked, "Who can say whether a sentence is too long or too short? Before we

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can decide we must settle what is the *object* in sentencing. I say *the diminution of crime* is the object ; but no Judges and few Chairmen of Quarter Sessions agree with me in this. All hold that the true purpose is to give an amount of punishment equal to the guilt of the offender ; and as there is no measure for the punishment, one man suffering three times as much as another from the same infliction, or for the guilt, each is sure his own sentence is right, and we have ‘ Quot judices, tot sententiæ.’ ”

Mr Baker held that the general character and antecedents of offenders should constitute the determining feature in sentences, rather than the nature of the particular crime ; and in this view he was in agreement with a more recent but similarly experienced authority, Sir Robert Anderson, K.C.B., LL.D., formerly Commissioner of Police, who has repeatedly urged that Judges should, in the case of alleged habitual offenders, institute a formal public inquiry into the previous habits and actions of the accused, and if the latter be found to have been *professional* criminals, that they should, for the protection of society, be kept in permanent durance in some sort of “asylum prison,” but not necessarily under ordinary penal conditions.

Mr Baker induced his brother magistrates in Gloucestershire to adopt, in some degree, his own principle in regard to sentences, and with much local advantage. He also advocated the necessity of special stringency with ring-leaders in crime. It was found that the prolonged detention of a very few of such ringleaders amongst the juvenile offenders of Gloucestershire had remarkably satisfactory results.

The writer ventures to think that it is not necessary to cumulate the penalties, even on professional criminals, so rapidly as Mr Baker, with others, recommended, but to rely mainly on the certainty of a gradual increase of sentences and a sequence of authoritative but friendly supervision under some kind of Probation Officer.

As Secretary of the Howard Association, he was ex-

amined in 1894 by a Departmental Committee, appointed by the Home Secretary (with Mr Herbert Gladstone, M.P., as chairman), and in his evidence before that body he recommended, as a simple but effectual system of cumulation, that for habitual offenders of the misdemeanant class each repeated offence should involve at least a fortnight's increase upon the last previous sentence. This would very gradually impose a most useful check upon the numerous poor wretches who have usually been sent to jail scores, or even hundreds of times in succession, merely with recurring sentences of a few days, or at the most a month or two, but without securing either deterrence or reformation, or affording even a possibility of forming right habits. The absence of a common-sense procedure in such cases, hitherto, has constituted a legal scandal, a plague to the community, and the ruin of innumerable offenders.

For professional criminals of a more serious description, the writer recommended a steady increase of one or two years, upon each previous sentence. Such a gradual increment, if put in practice, would soon "pull up" the most determined offender. For it is the certainty, rather than the severity of the cumulation, that is the important point.

This plan may be open to some objection or modification, but at any rate it would be immensely more beneficial for all parties concerned, both for the public and the offender, than the irregularity and absence of system in regard to sentences hitherto characteristic of British criminal procedure.

The adoption of some kind of systematic cumulation of sentences, for the habitual or professional class of offenders in particular, is a principal desideratum of twentieth-century legislation, on both sides of the Atlantic.

No Assistant-Secretary was ever officially appointed by the Committee of the Howard Association ; but throughout the long connection of its first Secretary with that body, he was most diligently and intelligently aided in his labours by his wife, Mrs Augusta Mary Tallack, who, to all intents and

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purposes, discharged, and very efficiently, the duties of an Assistant-Secretary.

During the Secretary's frequent journeys, she forwarded to him his correspondence, and acknowledged such letters as required immediate reply. His communications to the press, and other manuscripts, were copied out by her, in her own neat and clear handwriting, as occasion required. And very often her wise suggestions were of use to him in regard to his writings and speeches. In the Preface to his work on "Penological and Preventive Principles," he gratefully referred to such help on her part.

Many American, Continental, and other friends of the Howard Association, who, from time to time, visited the Secretary at his home, used afterwards to remark how charmed they had been with Mrs Tallack's discharge of her duties as a hostess.

To her assiduous care over his health and comfort, the author believes that, with the blessing of Providence, he owes the prolongation of his life during many years—a life always uncertain and frail, and latterly impaired by serious disease. But although much younger than her husband, Mrs Tallack was, to his great grief, parted from him by death on January 21, 1904, aged fifty-nine years.

For more than thirty-six years she had been as a perpetual sunshine in her home; and it may truly be said of her that she was admirable in all the relations of life, as a daughter, a sister, a wife, a mother, the mistress of a household, and a most sympathetic friend of the poor and afflicted. She was an active and valued member of various philanthropic committees, but also an excellent domestic manager. She took a deep and practical interest in Home and Foreign Missions.

The secretary of a Convalescent Homes Committee, on which Mrs Tallack served for twenty-three years, in sending a minute of the Committee's appreciation of her as a colleague, added: "We shall, in company with many other committees, miss her bright and cheery presence at our

meetings." Many similar testimonies to her pleasant and helpful life were borne by other organisations and individuals. A "sister" of the "West London Mission" wrote : " She stands out in my memory now as one of the finest, the most gifted, the sunniest, the sweetest of women." A principal officer of the Salvation Army said of her : " We never forgot her kindnesses to us ; she was so kind to all. Heaven is richer ; we are poorer." And one of her own servants wrote : " I shall never forget all she was to me while I was with you, in fact she was more than a mother. She was always willing to listen to any trouble and to help me in any way that she could."

For the fallen of her own sex she cherished a pitying and charitable feeling, and took a share in efforts to reclaim them. She encouraged kindness to animals in every way. Dogs worshipped her, and would often leave their own masters and mistresses to follow her. She had a lively wit and a special gift of tact. One of her colleagues on a committee described her as " such a radiant Christian."

She trained her children in the love and reverence of God, in the habit of prayer, and in regard for the Bible. She gladly held " the Larger Hope " ; and her own hope for salvation was in the love and merits of Christ.

One of her favourite texts was Isa. xli. 7 : " The carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, and he that smootheth with the hammer him that smote the anvil " ; for she considered mutual encouragement to be a greatly needed and useful duty, and that, in general, there was far too little of it in families and ordinary life.

In a conversation a few weeks before her unexpected decease, she remarked that much of our habitual fear of death results from our dwelling too exclusively upon what we lose and give up by it. She said that when she was a child she used to dislike the idea of growing up to womanhood because it would involve the loss of her games and toys, but she had not then realised the superior pleasures which womanhood would bring. And similarly she thought

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that our present fear of death might be lessened if we could more generally cherish a filial faith in the still continuing Fatherhood of God hereafter, and in His willingness to give us greater and eternal joys in Christ's manifested presence in heaven.

Like Dorcas of old, Mrs Tallack, in addition to her daily diligence in home and philanthropic duties, busily occupied herself in making garments for the poor, and also in preparing little presents for the young children of her acquaintance.

The writer has felt that any retrospect of his long connection with the Howard Association ought to bear some appreciative testimony to the very valuable services rendered throughout those years, both to the Association and to its Secretary, by the beloved and honoured partner of his life and work, who was to him the most pleasant of all his many pleasant colleagues.

CHAPTER III

PARLIAMENTARY AND OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF THE ASSOCIATION

Lord Chancellor Herschell and others—The Government—Royal Commissions—The Prison Authorities.

THE Committee of the Howard Association were encouraged in their labours by the recognition which, on various occasions, they received from Parliamentary speakers. Members of both Houses of the Legislature from time to time invited co-operation and information from the Association, both by letter and interview.

It was especially gratifying that the highest legal authority in the kingdom, Lord Chancellor Herschell, in a speech in the House of Lords (on April 21, 1890), thus alluded to his own interest in the work and publications of the Association. He said :—

“Without committing myself to all the views advocated by the Howard Association, I am prepared to admit that it has done useful work in gathering information with regard to the treatment of offenders and the mode in which crime should be dealt with. It has made many recommendations for improving the law, and it has shown a tender regard for the interests of prisoners. The Howard Association advocates a steady, though a small and gradual increase of punishment for each offence. It is not in favour of any sudden jump, or of very lengthened terms of punishment for small offences.”

On the same occasion, Lord Herschell quoted with approval another recommendation of the Association,

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namely, that in certain cases habitual offenders, chiefly of the misdemeanant class, should, in lieu of prolonged detention, have a chance of conditional liberty, but only under some suitable supervision, not necessarily, or even preferably, that of the police, but of the agents of a Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, or some such body. This would be in part an approximation to the American system of Probation Officers, which has been so useful in practice.

Lord Chancellor Herschell was not the only high legal dignitary by whom the Howard Association, in the person of its Secretary, had the honour of being quoted in Parliament; for some years previously, in a debate on the Capital Punishment question in the House of Commons, Sir Hardinge Giffard (afterwards Lord Chancellor Halsbury) referred to him as an authority on that subject; and, on many other occasions, the Association has been similarly honoured by references in both Houses of Parliament. The writer's book on "Penological and Preventive Principles" has been repeatedly quoted there.

At various times the assistance of the Howard Association has been invited by Government departments and officials. The Chairman and Secretary were required to give evidence on eight occasions before Parliamentary or State committees.

The Chairman (Mr Peek) was summoned as a witness before the House of Lords Committee of Inquiry on Poor Law Relief, of which the Earl of Kimberley was chairman, in 1888.

The author, as Secretary, was twice summoned to give evidence before the Royal Commission on the Penal Servitude Acts, in 1878, of which also Lord Kimberley was chairman, with Lord Knutsford, Mr S. Whitbread, M.P., and others as colleagues.

But previous to his becoming Secretary of the Howard Association, the writer had also been twice examined, in 1864, as a witness before the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, of which the Duke of Richmond was chairman.

In 1894 the Secretary attended, as a witness, before the Home Office Departmental Committee on Prisons, of which Mr Herbert Gladstone, M.P., was chairman.

In 1895 he was examined before the Scotch Committee on Habitual Offenders and Inebriates, of which Sir Charles Cameron, M.P., was chairman; and in 1896, he was invited to give evidence before the Home Office Departmental Committee on the Education of Prisoners, and attended accordingly.

On the Secretary's retirement, the chief prison authorities at the Home Office sent to him some very kind and gratifying messages of their appreciation of the work of the Association.

The Prison Commissioners of England and Wales forwarded the following official message, through their Secretary, Major Clayton (dated "Home Office, Whitehall, May 17, 1901") :—

"The Commissioners desire me to express to you their great regret that failing health should have necessitated your retirement from the Secretaryship of the Howard Association."

At a later date in the same year, the Chairman of the Prison Commissioners, Sir E. J. Ruggles-Brise, wrote :—

"41 HILL STREET, *October 23, 1901.*

"DEAR MR TALLACK,—I am much obliged to you for sending me your Report, which I always read with very great interest. I see that the first paragraph announces your retirement, which I greatly regret. But you are able to retire with the consciousness of good work done in the cause of humanity, through many years, and in many parts of the world.—Yours very truly,

"E. RUGGLES-BRISE.

Colonel Garsia, another of the Prison Commissioners, wrote :—

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“PRISON COMMISSION, HOME OFFICE,
WHITEHALL, S.W., *October 26, 1901.*

“DEAR MR TALLACK,—I thank you very much for the early copy of your annual Report which you have so kindly sent me, also for your letter.

“I have known your good work for nearly twenty-five years ; and it was with real regret that I learnt of your approaching retirement and the cause thereof. Your unceasing efforts in the cause of enlightened, humane, but firm and effective prison treatment will always mark you out as a real reformer. And I must tell you with what satisfaction I read, in this your last Report, that you do not waver in your faith in the Separate System, and that you see the disadvantages of associating criminals, unless they be strictly supervised and their conversation regulated.

“The changes I have introduced into Military Prisons were needed, and the army as well as the tax-payer will gain. The waste of good material will, I hope, be checked, and improvement, instead of destruction, will be ensured. At any rate, that is what I am working for ; and I am greatly encouraged by the favour with which my Report has been received.

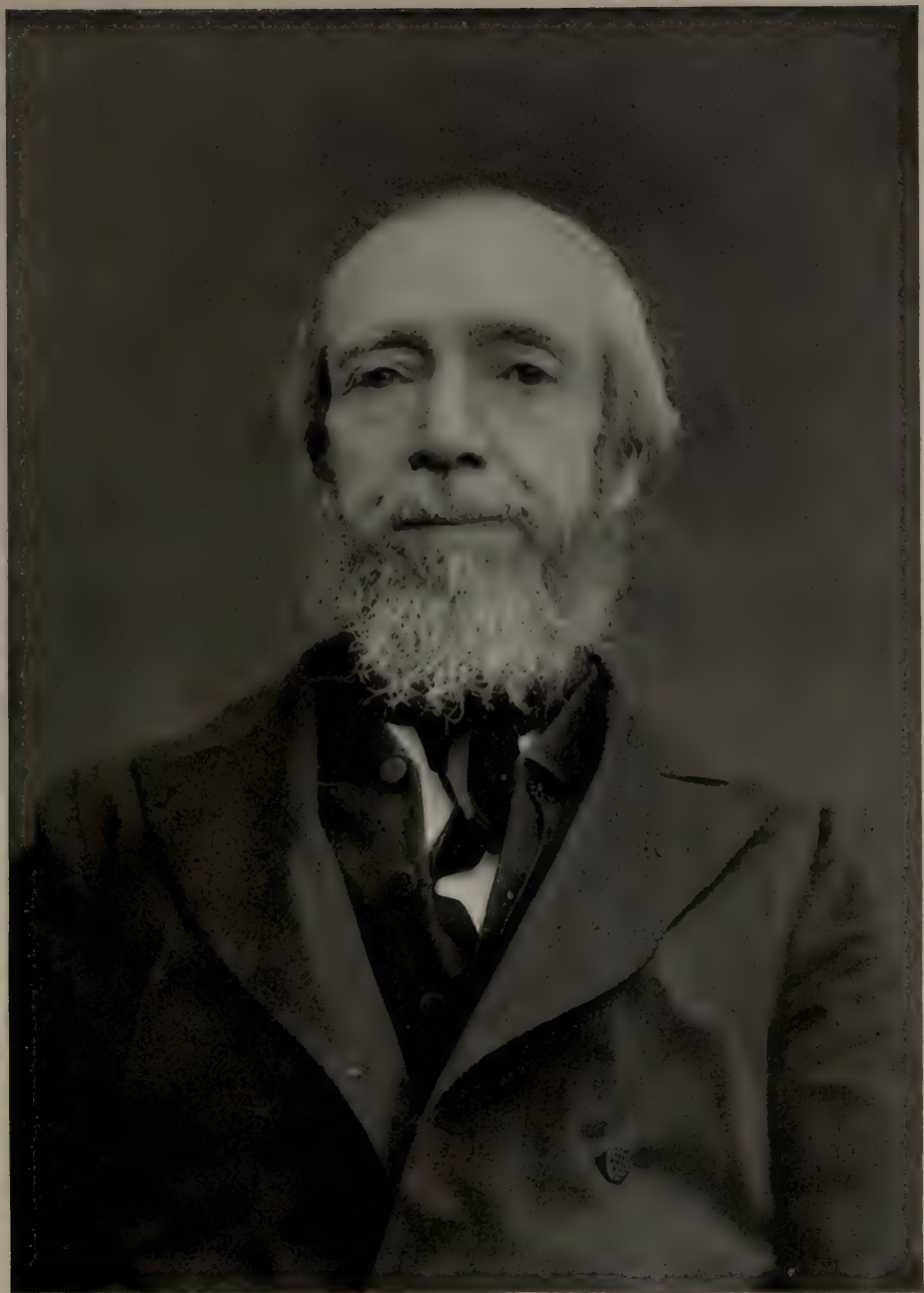
“Wishing you complete restoration to health, and that you may long be spared to continue your career of usefulness, I remain, Yours faithfully, M. CLARE GARSIA.”

The Chairman of the Irish Prison Board, Mr J. S. Gibbons, wrote :—

“GENERAL PRISON BOARD, DUBLIN CASTLE,
October 26, 1901.

“MY DEAR SIR,—Many thanks for the copy of the annual Report. I am indeed sorry to know that it is the last from your pen. I look on the Howard Association as a ‘tower of strength.’ My colleagues join me in wishing you many years of health, happiness, and continued usefulness.—Believe me, yours very truly,

“J. S. GIBBONS.”



THE AUTHOR
1905

CHAPTER IV

LETTERS ON CRIME PREVENTION

From T. Barwick L. Baker, Esq., J.P.—Right Hon. Sir Walter F. Crofton—Alfred R. Wallace, Esq., F.R.S.—Right Hon. Professor Max Müller—Earl Spencer—Charles Stewart Parnell, Esq., M.P.—The Marquis of Salisbury—John Walter, Esq., M.P.—Lord Justice Bramwell—The Earl of Selborne—Sir Robert Anderson, LL.D.—The Duke of Richmond—M. Pobedonostzeff (Russia)—Miss Frances Power Cobbe—The Empress Frederick of Germany—Baron von Holtzendorff (Germany)—Dr D. Minkoff (Bulgaria)—Lord Norton—Sir John Bowring, LL.D.—Right Hon. Sir John T. Hibbert, M.P.

THE author's secretaryship brought him a very extensive correspondence, both home and foreign. Most of the letters received by him were destroyed, especially those from officers in the Prison service; for although it was contrary to the rules and etiquette of that service that any officers should communicate by letter with an outside body like the Howard Association, yet from time to time its Secretary received many confidential statements from persons in both the higher and lower grades of that department of the administration, and he never violated the trust thus reposed in him. He often had in his possession information of an interesting but confidential nature which he was unable to quote, or even to use except indirectly.

When being examined before a Royal Commission, he refused, although closely pressed by the Commissioners, to give certain information of an important character which had been communicated to him in strict confidence.

It was generally known in the Prison service that the Howard Association sought to promote the interests and welfare not only of the prisoners, but also of their officers of every grade, and that any statements of a confidential

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character which might be forwarded to the Secretary would be safe in his keeping and not used to the detriment of the sender.

A few letters on subjects connected with the objects of the Howard Association, from persons other than prison officers, may be here offered to the reader. In regard to several of them (and also as to some of the letters in subsequent chapters) omissions have been made of allusions to private matters.

The author especially valued his correspondence, during many years, with that excellent magistrate and wise counsellor, Mr Barwick Baker, of Hardwicke Court, near Gloucester. The following is one of the last letters received from him.

“ HARDWICKE, GLOUCESTER,
December 22, 1885.

“ DEAR MR TALLACK,—I’m in bed with bronchitis. It is probably not serious, and I shall most likely recover after a time and get on for a year or more; but I cannot get at my papers till I can get downstairs. I fear I have not one to spare, but I’ll see.

“ ‘The diminution of crime, an object well worthy of the best efforts and the best thoughts of our best men,’ was an observation of General Brinkerhoff [President of the U.S. Prison Association], and very like him.

“ Your crux is one that often exercised me—how to seclude men [professional offenders] for long periods. I believe it is necessary for the country’s good and their own, but I have never been able clearly to see my way. Clearly not Cherry Hill [the Eastern Philadelphia Prison]. Clearly not the contract system. But I am not clear that some of the American prisons—not ‘contract’—but where they get hard work out of them, as the one at Columbus, Ohio, if it goes on as well as it promises, may not give us a clue—especially the Ohio Act of last year, that a man committed to a State prison for a third time is thereby liable to imprisonment for life—or to be let out under supervision, *liable to recall*; or he may, after several years’ honest life

under supervision, be pardoned by the Governor. The police of Ohio are of opinion that 'smart hands' will rather avoid Ohio. If so, first offences will decrease.

"Who is your 'practical man' who objects to police supervision? Probably he does so, as you might object to roast beef if you saw it served raw or burned to a cinder. No doubt it may be ill done. But *well* done, it cannot be too long.

"It's bad work writing in bed with a bad pen; so a happy Christmas and New Year to you, from yours truly,

"T. B. L. BAKER."

The author proposed supervision by specially appointed Probation Officers rather than by the police; and he thought the Ohio plan of life-detention, on a third committal to a State prison, needlessly severe. A more gradual cumulation of sentences, if certain and systematic, would be much better in various respects.

Mr Baker did not live long after the date of the above letter. The Committee of the Howard Association, in their annual Report for 1887, recorded: "There is one name which must be alluded to with special interest, that of the late Mr T. Barwick L. Baker, J.P., of Gloucester. For a long period his counsels have been of the greatest suggestive help to the Committee and to their Secretary, and by his decease they have lost one of their most esteemed and honoured friends."

The writer was permitted to bear testimony, in the *Times* newspaper, to the merits of his departed friend.

A medallion portrait of Mr Baker was placed in Gloucester Cathedral, of the city and county which he served so long and faithfully.

The following letter written in reference to the author's intended visit to the Social Science Congress in Dublin, 1881, was received from Sir Walter Crofton, previously Chief Director of Irish Prisons.

"13 WINCHESTER ROAD, OXFORD,
September 22, 1881.

"DEAR SIR,—I am glad to find, by your letter, that you expect to go to Dublin.

"You ask if there are any points to which attention should be called. There certainly are, and of great importance.

"First, the co-operation of the Police and Aid Societies. Mr [afterwards Sir] Howard Vincent has shown what can be done in this line in London, but it wants pushing elsewhere. When criminals note the two working as a benevolent agency, they (the well intentioned) will look on

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the police as their friends. As yet, there are no Aid Societies in Ireland. Difference of religion has something to do with this. What is wanted is to *push* 'Aid Societies,' police co-operation with them, and sentences of police supervision, as in this country, and *shortening* the terms of detention. It is extraordinary how rare the sentences of police supervision are in Ireland.

"My son, who is an English barrister and an Inspector of Prisons in Ireland, under the Commissioners, has, by request, written a paper on the above subject and will discuss it. I have written a very brief paper on 'Training Prison Officers.' You will feel the importance of this as much as I do. What has been tried with success in Italy and Belgium should be tried here: I will send you a copy of my paper before the time and hope you will speak on it, as well as on the other matter. It would also be well to speak on the juvenile question. All these questions will do good.

"I don't think the doctors will let me go, but I am not certain. Please to introduce yourself to my son. He is well up in the subject, and will like to see you. In great haste, Yours truly,

WALTER CROFTON."

That distinguished naturalist, Alfred R. Wallace, Esq., F.R.S., D.C.L., thus commented on some portions of the author's book on "Penological Principles":—

"Your chapter on 'Crimes of Society' is very powerful, but too brief, especially the first part. To me it seems that society creates nine-tenths of the crime. You do not, I think, dwell on the greatest of all 'crimes of society,' in my opinion—the neglect to so organise itself that every man may live (and live decently and well) by his labour. While one honest and industrious man or woman remains unwillingly out of work, and therefore out of food and often out of warmth, clothing, and home, society and its delegate, Government, are criminals. So long as we set property, gain, wealth, against the lives or well-being of the people who create that wealth, society is criminal.

"Again, I believe that *all* the present systems of punishment are wrong—that the first and second and third aim of all punishment should be the reform of the criminal; and that having taught and reformed him, mainly by kindness and work for his own benefit, arrangements should be made that he should have immediate work and means of an honest livelihood secured to him, as to all others. Till this is done, all punishment is but an added crime.

"I entirely demur to the dictum that prisons should not be made attractive. I maintain that they cannot be made too attractive, so long as they are entirely self-supporting, which, with proper organisation, they can easily be made. Then it is better that all who cannot find other means of living should come into these 'prisons' (which to them would not be prisons, but homes) rather than be driven to the choice between starvation, crime, or that vile prison-establishment—the workhouse.

"Of course you will think these ideas dreadfully wild, impracticable, and socialistic. They are so, no doubt; but then I *am* a Socialist."

Whilst the above letter indicates a benevolent disposition in its writer, it is also marked by that disregard of practical difficulties and actual circumstances which is so frequently characteristic of Socialists. If Mr Wallace was really acquainted with the difficulty of rendering the labour of the ordinary criminal class profitable to any considerable extent, and especially when the great majority of prisoners are committed for very short terms (a few weeks mostly), utterly insufficient either to form good industrial habits or to remove their ignorance, he would not assert so positively that prisons can easily be made entirely self-supporting.

Again, he overlooks the circumstance that many criminals are such from deliberate choice; and even if supplied with "the means of an honest livelihood," would immediately prefer to resume the more profitable and exciting career of plunder. Prison authorities, on both sides of the Atlantic, are, however, making praiseworthy efforts in the direction of Mr Wallace's humane wishes.

Amongst the "crimes of Society," from the Socialist's point of view, is competition in trade; and, in excess, this certainly has injurious effects: but it does not follow that universal collectivism would be a less evil. Competition and emulation, in their legitimate places, are essential elements of human progress.

Socialists are sincere in a desire to promote the regeneration of the community. But as a body they too often neglect, if they do not actually oppose, the chief sources of such regeneration. What support, as a class, have they given to the greatest of all social regenerating influences, namely Christianity

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and its evangelisation? Do not a large proportion of Socialists, the world over, avow themselves agnostics or indifferent to the gospel? And what have they specially done for Temperance, Purity, and general Morality?

Nevertheless great have been the services of individual Socialists to the cause of humanity. Some of the French Catholic Socialists in particular have taken a leading part in advocating the interests of the poor and the weak and have tended to awaken many Christians to a sense of the departure of much of theology and religious profession from the real spirit and example of the Saviour. Christendom has needed to be called back to Christ's actual will and doctrine as contrasted with many accepted maxims of modern business life and with social conditions too long acquiesced in, even by the Churches. Such Socialists have succeeded in arousing increased and greatly needed attention to these matters. Yet it is much to be desired that, as a class, they could more generally perceive that real Christianity is their own best friend. Stephen Colwell, a writer inclined towards Socialism, remarks: "The equality and the brotherhood and mutual kindness which Socialists seek are all embraced in that very Christianity which they have rejected because they never knew it. Do not the teachings of Christ contain all, and far, far more of the benefits they seek than their highest wishes ever reached? Christianity offers amelioration to all cases of social evil, mitigation to every human ill."

The Right Hon. Professor Max Müller of Oxford had applied to the author for some statistics of crime, and, on receiving his reply, again wrote as follows:—

"7 NORHAM GARDENS, OXFORD,
October 1, 1888.

"DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged to you for your reply to my letter. Statistics are always unjust; but they are unjust all round, and sometimes give us useful hints.

"The problem we have to solve is—why, granted that Christianity is superior to all other religions, the results which we have a right to expect are not always there? In Ceylon, for instance, which is almost entirely Buddhist, the proportion of crime to population is much lower than in England. This fact makes us look out for the causes of it, and such inquiry may possibly lead to useful results. Our danger lies in higher civilisation and all the temptations associated with it. Yet this does not altogether satisfy me; and I am unwilling to admit that religion has so little influence on public morality as it seems to have.

"I know the subject is a very difficult one; but a

collection of facts bearing on it, carried out without any bias, might be productive of some good. Believe me, with best thanks, Yours Truly,

"F. MAX MÜLLER"

The Professor's mention of Ceylon suggests a partial explanation of the difficulty felt by him. For whole classes of offences punishable in Christian lands are not regarded as such in Buddhist and other pagan countries. For example, polygamy is not considered to be either illegal, or immoral, in those regions, whereas in Christian lands, it might come under the category of bigamy, or of adultery, and might be treated as an offence which would tend to swell the statistics of criminality, or vice.

Again the higher civilisation to which the Professor refers, involves an ever-growing list of new temptations and delinquencies, owing to the increasing complexity of the laws, and bye-laws, regulating most forms of social progress.

And further, is it legitimate to associate with Christianity itself, the results of evil actions which are contrary to its precepts and in direct disobedience to the doctrine and example of Christ? But this is constantly done by the opponents and critics of Christianity.

A letter on Irish prisons elicited the following reply from the Lord-Lieutenant :—

"VICE-REGAL LODGE, DUBLIN,
May 28, 1885

"SIR,—I have received, and am obliged for, your letter.

"You may be assured that the difficult question of Prison Administration in Ireland continues to receive my most careful attention. Yours Truly,

"SPENCER

"W. TALLACK, Esq."

Shortly before the date of the above letter, the Social Science Association and the Howard Association jointly organised a Deputation to Lord Spencer in reference to some needed reforms in the Irish Prison System. But to their surprise the Nationalist Members of Parliament declined to take part in that Deputation, although its object was for the benefit of their own part of the Kingdom.

The Secretary of the Howard Association in one of his communications to Mr Parnell expressed some surprise that the Deputation to Lord Spencer had received no help from him and his friends. He received the following reply :—

"IRISH PARLIAMENTARY OFFICE,
PALACE CHAMBERS, 9 BRIDGE STREET,
LONDON, S.W., *April 20, 1885.*

"DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your letter of the 10th instant. I should be very glad to receive any information in your possession with regard to Irish Prisons ; and I shall use that which you have sent to me, in the Debate on the Estimates, when it comes on. I am much obliged for the copy of the Report which you have forwarded to me.

"I think the reason why the Members of the Irish Parliamentary Party did not assist you, in your Deputation to Lord Spencer, was that they make it a rule not to go upon any Deputation to any member of the Government. I am, Yours very Truly,

"CHARLES S. PARNELL

"WILLIAM TALLACK, Esq."

The writer received several similar acknowledgments, at various times, of information sent by him to Mr Parnell. The latter repeatedly and largely quoted, in the House of Commons, from papers sent to him by the Howard Association.

On various occasions the Howard Association had to invite the influence of Lord Salisbury with foreign governments on behalf of cruelly treated prisoners, especially in Morocco, Turkey, and other countries. He not only returned courteous replies to these applications, but in several instances successfully exerted himself in the direction suggested.

As to the atrocities perpetrated by the Turkish Government upon prisoners and others in Armenia, in connection with which the Secretary of the Howard Association had ventured to suggest the diverting of the Cyprus Tribute to the aid of the sufferers, Lord Salisbury wrote (May 27, 1896)—

"The Cyprus Tribute is already impounded to pay the interest on the guaranteed Turkish Loan of 1855. I am afraid there is no remedy except by causing ten times the bloodshed we desire to prevent.

"I cannot get the more ardent Nonconformists to realise that our ships cannot sail into Armenia ; nor, without fearful loss of life, can they get past the fortifications of the Dardanelles."

The following letter from Mr Walter, M.P., was sent in reply to an invitation to join in a Deputation to the Home Secretary, from the Howard Association, on the subject of the frequent Inequality of Sentences :—

"40 UPPER GROSVENOR STREET,
March 8, 1878

"DEAR SIR,—I regret that I was unable to attend the Deputation to Mr Cross to-day. I understood, however, that a Bill for the Consolidation of the Penal Code is being prepared and will shortly be laid before Parliament. When this is done, there will, no doubt, be ample opportunity for considering the various points alluded to in your Memorandum. I am, dear Sir, Yours faithfully,

"J. WALTER

"Mr W. TALLACK "

Unfortunately, the Consolidation of the Penal Code has remained one of the great legal and national desiderata of the United Kingdom in the Twentieth Century. The death of Sir John Holker, M.P. (Attorney-General), who took great interest in the subject (in conjunction with Sir James Fitzjames Stephen), was a principal cause of the indefinite and very regrettable postponement of the matter.

In a letter to the Author, Lord Bramwell remarked, on Sentences,—

"As to Sentences, nothing gave me so much anxiety and doubt. Crimes deliberately committed should have heavy sentences ; crimes of passion require less. A man stabbing in a fury is as little, or as much, deterred, because his sentence may be one year's imprisonment, as if it were to be ten years. But it would never do to treat such crimes lightly. The subject is most difficult."

A great legal need of the Twentieth Century is a further attempt to deal with this question of Sentences by means of a system of gradual but certain cumula-

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tion. Such a plan would be more effectual than "heavy" sentences without such regularity and certainty. The punishableness of a crime should be mainly estimated and measured by the evidence obtainable whether the perpetrator was a casual, or an habitual, offender. In the former case, the sentence might be comparatively light. In the latter case, the gradual cumulation would soon become impressively effectual, especially if accompanied, after discharge, with the supervision of a humane, but firm and wise, Probation Officer, after the successful model of various American States. Indeed, for minor offences, such Officers, in the United States, often render imprisonment needless, whilst securing its proposed objects.

The following was a letter from Lord Selborne (formerly Lord Chancellor) in reply to an inquiry, by the Author, whether he had been correctly reported on the question of Corporal Punishment.

"BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD,
Dec. 20, 1885.

"SIR,—In reply to your inquiry, I have to confirm, as perfectly accurate, the statement (it is singular that it should have reached you from the other side of the Atlantic) of my opinion, deliberately and long entertained and publicly expressed, as to the wisdom and humanity of a moderate corporal punishment for children, rather than sending them to prison. The occasion on which I publicly expressed that opinion was, when some person who thought differently, complained to me of the infliction of corporal chastisement for some petty offence, on a young offender, by magistrates in Somersetshire.

"I do not think it follows that, in cases proper for a *Reformatory School*, it would be better to use corporal punishment than to send a child to such a school. I suppose that a child would *not* be sent to such a school, unless the frequent repetition of offences proved the inefficiency of other means of correction; or, unless the child were neglected at home and exposed to degrading and demoralising influences. In such case, if the school is conducted as it ought to be (so as to be free from the demoralising tendencies of a prison), it may be the very saving of a boy to send him there. As to the length of time, that is a question unconnected (as it seems to me)

with the principal question. I am, sir, Your obedient servant,

"SELBORNE

"W. TALLACK, Esq."

With a good system either of Probation Officers (as in America) or of the *enforcement* of Parental Responsibility (and Probation Officers have especially to promote the latter)—both corporal punishment and imprisonment may, with advantage, be largely avoided, for children.

On the question of Sentences, also, Sir R. Anderson, LL.D., wrote to the Author.

"39 LINDEN GARDENS, W.,
4 November, 1901

"DEAR MR TALLACK,—I am glad to find that the fact of my retirement from official life has not led you to strike me off your list. I thank you for sending me the annual Report of your Association, which I shall read with interest, as soon as I have leisure. At this moment, I am busy at another article on Crime.

"I greatly wish I could win you to my side on this question. I know your enlightened views of criminals and crime and that you have no sympathy with those who refuse to hear of a scoundrel's getting his deserts. But I judge from your letter to the Times, on my February article, that you don't recognise that, under the present punishment-of-crime system, the scoundrel gets less than his deserts; and many a poor wretch who deserves pity rather than punishment goes to penal servitude. The article I am now writing (No. 3 of the series) [in the "Nineteenth Century Magazine"] is a further appeal to men like yourself. Yours faithfully,

"R. ANDERSON"

While the Author heartily approves of Sir R. Anderson's main object, viz., the arrest of the careers of *professional* criminals, yet he ventures to think that, even in their case, it is neither necessary nor desirable to pass sentences of permanent, or very long, detention, except by the approximate stages of a *gradual*, but *certain*, cumulation of sentence.

He fully unites with Sir Robert's recommendation, in the "Nineteenth Century," that much more care than hitherto should be taken by Judges to investigate the *antecedents* of prisoners, especially of presumptively *professional* criminals. In accord with Sir James Fitzjames Stephen's opinion, Sir R. Anderson advised that a formal *public* inquiry should be made into such antecedents and that the sentence should be mainly based upon the results of such inquiry.

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The Duke of Richmond wrote, in reference to the Author's "Penological Principles," as follows :—

"GORDON CASTLE, FOCHABERS, N.B.,
September 2, 1888

"DEAR SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of the book you have been good enough to send me. I shall read it with much interest ; the subject treated is one of the highest importance.

"My father, with Sir Joshua Jebb, the late Lord Chichester and others, were the first Governors, or Visitors, of Pentonville Prison.

"The subject of Prison Discipline was one in which he took the greatest interest. I also share his feelings on the subject. I have the honour to remain, Your obedient servant,

"RICHMOND and GORDON

"To WM. TALLACK, Esq."

The elder Duke of Richmond, above alluded to, in conjunction with Lord Chichester and other colleagues, was a pioneer in introducing into the United Kingdom, the system of separating prisoners from each other, instead of corrupting association. This plan, as carried out by them, in a Sussex prison, proved remarkably successful in diminishing local crime and preventing reconvictions.

The writer having sent some reports of cruelties in Russian prisons to M. Pobedonostzeff, the latter replied in a long letter (dated Feb. 1, 1889) denying the veracity of the persons who made those reports and making counter charges against them. But he also wrote as follows :—

"Just now, the spacious ball-room of our house is stored with piles of warm clothing, such as goatskins, fur caps, warm boots, shawls and blankets, with baby-linen, frocks, school-books, story-books, pictures and Bibles—all to be sent over to the distant island of Sakhalin for the children of the convicts. There are, besides, piles of shirts, tea, tobacco, paper, pens, postage stamps, books, Bibles, for the convicts themselves, to be distributed amongst those newly bound for Sakhalin and sailing from Odessa on the 30th of March.

"Every year, each party of convicts sailing for Sakhalin is provided for in like manner and entrusted to the special care of a priest. On board, the convicts are generally relieved of

their fetters, many of them, taught by the priest, assist him in the Divine service, sing the prayers and read the Lessons of the day. This year, Easter will overtake them at sea ; and every care is taken by the Ladies' Committee, working under the high patronage of Her Majesty the Empress, that some kind of pleasure may reach these poor outcasts on the Day that, for us Russians, has such a peculiar radiance.

"Our people feel no loathing for the convict prisoners, only pity. They pray for them and seem ever to bear in their hearts the word of Christ—"I was in prison and ye came unto Me." Surely it is for them to hear, some day, the blessed Call !"

The Author had sent to Miss Cobbe a copy of his pamphlet on "Reparation, by offenders, to injured persons," together with some information on Cruelty to Animals in Algeria and Southern Europe. This elicited the following reply.

" HENGWRT, DOLGELLY, N. WALES,
August 4, 1895

"MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—Pray forgive my delay in replying to your very kind letter. It is many years, now, since we have, at intervals, exchanged friendly greetings ; and I always read your letters in the Times with interest.

"Just now, I am enchanted with your suggestion that the interests of the *injured party* ought, in all cases, to be far more considered than they are. But Law, in England, is, even now, a most faulty and fallible affair, like the progression of a drunken man to an object he confusedly beholds in front of him. As often as not, he falls down on his face and lies like a log, having never reached the object at all, but having done mischief all round, on his way.

"I sent on your reports, about the Algerian cruelties, to the lady who has founded the Society of "Amis des Animaux," of Monaco, which takes in, so far as its small powers can, all the Mediterranean coasts and is allied, I believe, with the new Egyptian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

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"But in truth, so long as a country remains Catholic, there is no hope for the poor beasts. We have lately found out that the Roman Catholic Church, officially and formally, teaches that animals have no rights whatever and that it is no sin to maltreat them to any amount.

"Instead of hoping anything from the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, we have only to wish they may be soon turned into utter oblivion, as teachers. The head of the Jesuits, in England, last week told a friend of mine that Cardinal Manning was a heretic, for maintaining that it was a sin to torture animals and that he would have been burned, as such, 300 years ago. Ever yours truly,

"F. P. COBBE"

The four letters, following, were acknowledgments of the book "*Penological Principles*."

"THE EMPRESS FREDERICK'S PALACE,
BERLIN, 1 Oct. 1888

"Count Seckendorff presents his compliments to William Tallack, Esq., and begs leave to say that he has duly received the book, '*Penological and Preventive Principles*,' which Mr Tallack has been kind enough to send him.

"Count Seckendorff has been laying this book before Her Majesty the Empress Frederick, who has graciously expressed the wish to keep it. Her Majesty commands Count Seckendorff to say that she is reading it with great interest. Count Seckendorff is desired to thank Mr Tallack very much for this book."

"MUNICH, *Sept.* 3, 1888

"DEAR SIR,—I thank you very much for the kindness shown me by forwarding your excellent book, which I am sure will do very much towards promoting the practical ends of Prison Reform.

"As you must have seen from my '*Handbuch*,' I have been urging, like yourself, the triad of Prevention, Repression and Reformation. I think there is no strong difference between our views. I fully concur in your opinion that the

cellular principle ought to be applied to the shorter terms of imprisonment, wherever the danger of moral infection may be presumed.

"As soon as possible I shall notice your book in the 'Gerichtsaal,' although I am sure that it will, by itself, attract many readers throughout the civilised world.

"At present my health is very bad. I have just passed through a painful ordeal of gout. Hence I am about to leave for Baden Baden, there to remain until the end of October. Again with many thanks, Yours sincerely,

"DR F. VON HOLTZENDORFF

"W. TALLACK, Esq."

"MINISTRY OF JUSTICE,
SOFIA, BULGARIA, 31 *March*, 1901

"DEAR SIR,—I received your card together with the copy of the new and enlarged edition of your very valuable work, 'Penological and Preventive Principles' (1896). I thank you heartily for this important work, which I find a very interesting one.

"For more than twenty years I have been studying the same problem—the best means for the treatment and prevention of crime, and I may say that the best solution of the problem is given by your book. It opens new and splendid horizons. It shows new and rational methods for the prevention of crime: it contains very important suggestions and constitutes a treasury of knowledge. I only regret that I had not earlier the opportunity of seeing and studying this excellent work which is destined to occupy a foremost place in the literature on the subject.

"I beg you to be so good as to present my sincerest thanks to the Howard Association, which appears to be a true continuer and promoter of the noble work of that great philanthropist and reformer, John Howard, whose name is mentioned with veneration throughout the whole civilised world. I think that there is no nobler work than that which your Association is doing in the world.

"I thank you also for the copy of your last Annual

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Report, which I have also read with great pleasure and interest. I have the honour to be, dear Sir, Yours respectfully,

“DR D. MINKOFF

“To Mr W. TALLACK,
Secretary of the Howard Association, London.”

Few men of influence, during the Nineteenth Century, took a more persevering or practical interest in measures for the diminution of Crime than Lord Norton (previously Sir Charles Adderley). His name, together with that of his friend and Warwickshire neighbour, Lord Leigh, is writ large in the history of modern Penal Reform. On various occasions he communicated with the Howard Association on this subject, both by letters and interviews. The following is one of his letters :—

“HAMS, BIRMINGHAM,
Aug. 24, 1888

“Lord Norton begs to thank Mr Tallack for the very instructive and useful volume he has so obligingly sent him. It is the most happy retrospect in his life, the share he has had with the many excellent men whose labours in the important work are chronicled in this book.

“He drafted the first Reformatory Bill and conducted both Industrial and Discharged Prisoners Aid Bills through Parliament. He well knows the good done by the Howard Association.”

Sir John Bowring was a valued member of the Committee of the Howard Association, in its first years, and rendered it very useful assistance. The following is one of his letters :—

“CLAREMONT, EXETER,
Sept. 6, 1871

“MY DEAR SIR,—We reached home in safety a few days ago. I visited many of the prisons in Scotland and Ireland, and found alike in their shortcomings and excellencies much to confirm the views which prison reformers now generally recognise as sound.

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"I shall be glad to see the results of *your* observations, in the promised paper at Leeds. I am afraid we shall hardly be able to undertake the journey. I will look over the statistics in Dutch and send you a report thereon. I should be very glad to see Dr Wines (Secretary of the American Prison Association) here. Pray tell him so. Yours ever truly,

"JOHN BOWRING"

The Right Hon. Sir J. T. Hibbert, M.P., was a friend and Patron of the Howard Association, and a very helpful one. In the first year of its existence, he presided at a Lecture on Prisons given by the Author, in the Manchester Athenæum (1866), and thenceforth was one of his most valued correspondents.

"SQUERRYES LODGE, WESTERHAM, KENT,
November 4, 1901

"MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—Many thanks for your kind letter, with your Annual Report. I am grieved to hear that you have been so seriously ill, and are still in such a sad state of health as to be unable to continue your useful and important work. It is, however, very wise to retire at the present time, and I trust that the rest may restore you to a better state of health, as well as enable you to be a guiding influence over the Association.

"I am still much engaged in public work of various kinds and feel thankful that, in my 77th year, I have health and strength to carry on the many demands upon my time. My latest object is to act as Chairman of a Joint Board (of the County and 16 County Boroughs) for providing Inebriate Reformatories for Lancashire. In September last, I presided, for the 27th successive year, over the Lancashire and Cheshire Conference of Poor Law Guardians, so that I begin to think of retirement.

"With my best wishes and with warmest appreciation of your valuable services, believe me, Yours very truly,

"JOHN T. HIBBERT"

CHAPTER V

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS

M. Victor Hugo—Matthew Arnold, D.C.L. (two)—Right Hon. John Bright, M.P. (two)—Professor Francis William Newman (two)—The Bishop of Natal (Dr Colenso)—Professor W. Robertson Smith, LL.D.—Rev. Dr James Martineau (two)—The Bishop of Durham (Dr Westcott) (three)—The Dean of Westminster (A. P. Stanley, D.D.)—Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.—Right Hon. Earl of Iddesleigh—Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P. (four)—Professor E. A. Freeman (two)—The Bishop of London (Dr Jackson)—Canon Liddon, D.D. (two)—The Bishop of Manchester (Dr Fraser)—The Bishop of Lincoln (Dr Wordsworth)—The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr Tait)—The Marquis of Salisbury—Right Hon. Sir Harry Verney, M.P.—Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon (two)—George Müller—The (7th) Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G. (two)—Henry Richard, M.P. (also Mr W. E. Gladstone, M.P., and Earl Granville)—The Earl of Derby—Right Hon. Lord Lister, F.R.S.—William Morris—A Correspondent—Joseph John Fox, F.S.S., M.R.C.S.—Sir Richard Tangye.

THE following are some letters addressed to the Author, but not immediately connected with the Howard Association, although written, in part, by its occasional or regular correspondents. They possess an interest, from the names and position of their writers.

The eminent French author, M. Victor Hugo, in his novel "By the King's Command," made charges against the character of the Founder of Pennsylvania, similar to those mentioned in Lord Macaulay's History of England. He remarks :—" In England, under Jeffreys, after the defeat of Monmouth, many noblemen and gentlemen were beheaded and quartered. They left widows and orphans whom James II. presented to his Queen, who sold them to William Penn. What is surprising is, not that James should have sold these women, but that William Penn should have bought them. The transaction, on his part, has been excused on the ground that he needed women

colonists for Pennsylvania. The ladies were a profitable acquisition for the Queen. The young ones fetched a good price ; but Penn probably got the old duchesses very cheap !”

On reading this curious statement, the present Author, as a “ Friend,” ventured to write to M. Hugo and to remind him that such charges against Penn had been refuted, at least in considerable degree, by Mr W. E. Forster, M.P., and others. He received the following reply from M. Hugo, who was then resident in the Channel Islands.

“ HAUTEVILLE HOUSE, 3 *May*, 1867

“ SIR,—Your letter interests me much and does credit to your feelings. I will endeavour carefully to verify all the authorities to which you and others have kindly invited my attention. But I must not conceal from you my opinion that the contemporary historical accounts are much in accord with each other.

“ I consider, however, that the acceptance of Macaulay’s statements is a matter requiring caution. But I have investigated this subject on other and previous authority, and have also indicated extenuating circumstances.

“ If impartiality requires me to go still further into the charge, which, in common with yourself, I regret, I beg you to believe that I shall gladly do so.

“ Accept the assurance of my cordial esteem.

“ VICTOR HUGO ”

The two following letters were from Matthew Arnold.

“ HARROW, *Nov. 21st*, 1869

“ DEAR SIR,—I return the printed letter [on Education and Religion in Germany] you sent me. I agree with its substance and greatly like its temper and spirit. You are mistaken, however, in thinking that the Prussian schools are undenominational. But the whole question of religion and irreligion in Germany, at present, has elements which do not belong to this question as it meets us in other countries.

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"I will look at the Dublin Quarterly Review ; and with sincere good wishes, I am always, dear Sir, Yours faithfully,

"MATTHEW ARNOLD

"WILLIAM TALLACK, Esq."

In the same year, the Author received from Mr Arnold a letter, in relation to the Society of Friends and to other Churches outside the Anglican Communion whom he had criticised as lacking "sweetness and light." In that letter the Poet wrote :—

"I have a great regard for the Society of Friends, with which I am connected through my sister's marriage with Mr W. E. Forster. And for the Dissenters, more usually so called, I have much respect and know several of them to be gifted men.

"Natural gifts will, as I have often said, do much to compensate for not having been brought up in a free and large air. I will only say this, that you must beware of thinking that philanthropic activity, or accumulated information, or even vigour of mind, are alone sufficient to give what I call 'sweetness and light.' Something more is needed ; and this something is delicacy of perception."

Many of Mr Arnold's writings are of great beauty and indicate a refined and truly poetical taste. He himself cultivated delicacy of thought and feeling, and was constantly in the habit of using that word "delicacy." Nevertheless there may fairly be credited to him, at times, a tendency to mistake *fastidiousness* for "delicacy of perception." Max O'Rell relates that when Robert Louis Stevenson heard of Mr Arnold's death, he exclaimed—"Poor Matthew ! Heaven won't please him !"

Here follow two letters from Mr Bright, M.P.

"ROCHDALE, March 14, 1872

"DEAR FRIEND WM. TALLACK,—Don't believe all that is in the newspapers. I have never written to any one in Birmingham, or elsewhere, in the terms you quote.

"I think the military expenditure is likely to destroy the Government, or greatly to injure it. Unfortunately the public

don't seem to care much about it ;—or, their Representatives in the House don't care much about the public.

"When an Election comes, the Tories will make use of the mistakes of the Government, although all in their own direction, or supported by them.

"I am afraid Mr Gladstone has not a full command over his colleagues, as a great Minister ought to have. But there are powers unseen, but not unfelt, against which it is difficult for a Minister to contend. Yours very truly,

"JOHN BRIGHT"

(In reply to an invitation to sign a Circular issued by the Howard Association Committee on Means of diminishing Intemperance.)

"ALEXANDRA HOTEL, *Feb. 22, 1876*

"DEAR FRIEND WM. TALLACK,—I prefer not to write anything to be published with the Circular. I do not agree with the whole of it, and I think it scarcely definite enough to do much good. The Drink Question requires more discussion. I am not yet able to come to any distinct view as to what can wisely be done, and therefore I prefer not to seem to teach what hitherto I cannot pretend to understand.

"I hope your efforts may do some good, although I do not see my way to take part in them. Yours very sincerely,

"JOHN BRIGHT"

Here follow two letters from Professor F. W. Newman.

"15 ARUNDELL CRESCENT,
WESTON-SUPER-MARE, *November 10, 1892*

"To WM. TALLACK, Esq.

"DEAR SIR,—I cannot afford you now more than a very short letter. Daylight is most precious to my eyes, which *then* do their duty admirably. But the pale ink makes books and even writing difficult after sunset. My excellent and careful wife leaves me very few hours for pen or book. This being my 88th year, it is to me a constant thankfulness that

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I have no mentionable pain, nor real incapacity anywhere, only generally lessened strength.

"I now simply tell you that thou and I are too old to change *the details* of our religions ; our time is too valuable. All who work with me, for like ends, by like means (Duty to God and Love to man) are my brethren, not excepting, but largely including, all Evangelicals, whom, whether British, American, Scandinavian, or Teutonic, I regard as God's moral Salt of the Earth, despite of their errors.

"I do not want to use argument against you, or them, which might only take you out of practical work, if you listened to me. I am satisfied with being *sure* that the generations to come will see what I see, though, with my surroundings, it has not led me much out of solitude.

"But I must state what perhaps you do not guess, that a cruel attack on me, from a man, whom *more than to any other man*, I had looked up to, as a saint, forced me to inquire more deeply 'What is Christianity?' before I returned to preach Christianity myself. This dates from 1833 onward ; and by closer and closer study of the New Testament, I was forced to leave off calling myself a Christian, while I believed myself *nearer* to Paul's Christianity than the great mass of this nation. Even since 1842, I have aimed not to lose anything *good* in Hebraism, or Paulinism, but to rise above both, as I believe the future will.

"No mere Protestantism can be acceptable to Islam.

"Forgive brevity. Yours truly,

"F. W. NEWMAN

"*P.S.*—I see I must add. The first Unitarian that I met was Dr Lant Carpenter, 1834 or 1835, who called on me because his youngest son was among my pupils. He so impressed me by his spiritual tone that I said to myself, 'Then hath God granted to (Unitarians) also, repentance unto life'; but never, for a moment, have I believed that Unitarianism, even in my friend James Martineau, can support itself as any form of Christianity acceptable since Paul was admitted to be an Apostle."

" 15 ARUNDELL CRESCENT,
WESTON-SUPER-MARE, *November 16, 1892*

" To WM. TALLACK, Esq.

" DEAR SIR,—I made sure that you belonged to the Friends, though I do not remember why. Among Christian sects, I have from boyhood, pre-eminently honoured the Friends; yet never have been able to assent to their extremeness.

" You suggest work for me, but the shops do not furnish ink for quill pens like that of my youth. The fault is not in my eyes, and partially is difficulty of nibbing a quill pen. Metal pens are uncertain.

" Some twelve years ago, if my memory is correct, an eager Congregationalist implored me to write an article, for 'the Christian World,' on the Plymouth Brethren. I presumed that the request came from the Editor and executed it carefully, not sparing to dwell on their faults (as to me they appeared), but giving full expression, also, to my sense of their genuine goodness.

" Time passed: I dare not say how long. When next I saw my Rev. Congregationalist, I asked, 'What of my article about the Plymouth Brethren?' 'Oh,' he said, 'I really am ashamed, but it was not my fault.' 'Well,' I replied, 'but what of the article?' I at last learned the truth. The Editor had studied it and replied, 'It will not do for us at all; for it is too favourable to the Brethren.' I have never seen nor heard of it since. I suppose Mr Guinness Rogers is the Editor. I did not risk my good temper in writing for the MS.

" J. Nelson Darby deserved my strong censure for harsh terms, which dared me to open a controversy in their body, because I pleaded to him my acceptance of the Nicene Creed (in 1833) as a sufficient defence. He replied, 'The Nicene Creed was a great mistake.' But I used it only in defence. This, and this only, forced me out from them.

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But forty years later, I thanked God for His kindness, which softened my feelings to him. But for him, I should not have learned higher and grander truth. But I regard *him* as the evil genius of this sect and the perverter of their noblest tendencies.

"It is with me a historical certainty that the Fourth Gospel is a romance and cannot be depended on for any deed, or word, of Jesus. I am quite out of Trinitarian controversy. I know, from 70 years past, all that you urge on me. Paul, in 1 Cor. viii. 6, is to me no higher than an Arian. I wonder that (with most Evangelicals) I was so slow to see this. I do not wish to pick up a controversy, but the Hebrew Writings show that their sages did not need any mediator, or any atonement. See Psalms 19 and 103 and 119. That is why a God, 'whose mercy endureth for ever,' satisfies me, and I think ought to satisfy all.

"I have read carefully your smaller pamphlet, and thank you for it. I believe that, in the past, nearly all wars in Christendom are morally censurable; yet many of them were resisting of the wicked foreigner; and I cannot censure *them*. God does not save the right by miraculous help. Therefore He bids the strong to help the weak. Bravery becomes a duty.

"Of English Capital Punishments, since Sir Samuel Romilly, we have made a great clearance. Of a few crimes, the word Murder ought not to be used; but I cannot at all approve of keeping men, or women, alive, who never can again be safe and trusty members of moral society. Insanity, if real, only makes human life cheaper. Thus I cannot, for a moment, wish a total sweep of life penalty. Yet the controversy is perhaps best carried on by the clashing of extremes. So at least our History suggests. Pray accept this long letter very kindly. The crusade will not stop. Yours sincerely,

F. W. NEWMAN"

"P.S.—I fear I send you an unreasonably long letter, yet cannot see where to shorten it. The subject is important, misrepresentations great. The new generation has

forgotten the events [of the Darby Controversy], and I hope you will allow me to speak about them.

“You may count that 99 times out of 100 I am, and shall be, on your side as to War.”

John Nelson Darby (alluded to in both of Mr F. W. Newman's letters) was a curious mixture of saintliness and assumption, and he ultimately alienated nearly all his most intimate friends. One of them informed the writer that Mr Darby was a most self-denying person, and that out of an income of £1000 a year, he only spent £50 on himself. He had a house in Lonsdale Square, Islington, merely to store his books in, under the care of an old housekeeper. He was a great reader. At his death, his library was sold for about £900.

In his earlier days, when a clergyman in Ireland, he was engaged to be married to a lady of title, who deeply loved him. But some of the Brethren persuaded them to break off the engagement, lest marriage should hinder Mr Darby's religious work. This broke the lady's heart. Mr Darby never married; for, he said, he would never break another woman's heart.

Mr F. W. Newman had been tutor to two of Mr Darby's nephews, and, at that time, greatly esteemed and honoured him; but subsequently they became estranged. Mr Darby, for many years, ruled the Plymouth Brethren as with a rod of iron, but also broke their sect in pieces. In his zeal for his own private interpretations of the letter of Scripture, he grievously failed either to exemplify, or encourage, that spirit of love which is the essence of Christianity.

The real founder of Plymouth Brethrenism was Mr Anthony Norris Groves, a man of gentle disposition, who greatly mourned over the course ultimately adopted by Mr Darby and others. He, at an early stage of the sect's development, in 1830, warned them of the danger of basing their church-activity upon testimonies against errors, arbitrarily assumed to be such, rather than upon the building up of themselves and others in love and commonly admitted truths. He said that, otherwise,—“Your union will daily become one of doctrines and opinions, more than of life and love; and the most narrow-minded and bigoted will rule.”

In 1903, a friend of Dr James Martineau wrote, in the *Christian World*, that the Doctor once remarked to him—“I think you ought to know that, the other day, I had a letter from Frank Newman, saying that when he died, he wished it to be known that he died in the Christian faith.”

The history of the Plymouth Brethren affords a sad illustration of the danger of practically putting portions of the letter of the Scripture above the loving Spirit and kindly example of the Lord Jesus Christ. The Brethren seem to have regarded the Bible as the very foundation of Christianity, which it is not. For the living Christ, alone, is that foundation. The Christian Church was in active existence, a score of years, or more, before a single book of the New Testament was written. Very precious as is that book, yet if it had never been penned, Christianity would have been propagated by Christ's chosen Apostolic witnesses and their successors. Even if the Higher Criticism could disprove the authority of every book of the New Testament, that need not shake Christianity. But, happily, it has nothing to fear from any criticism whatever.

If the Bible is rendered a cause of quarrel and bitterness, as so often amongst

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the Brethren (and some others), it becomes, in so far, an idol, and an immense blessing turned into a means of stumbling.

Amongst the intimate friends of the Author's grandfather (of the same name as his own), William Tallack, of St Austell, in the earlier part of the Nineteenth Century, was a Mr Colenso, whose son, John William, afterwards became Bishop of Natal.

During his stay in England in 1874, the writer had occasion to send him some information, and received the following acknowledgment :—

“ 37 PHILLIMORE GARDENS,
KENSINGTON, W., Dec. 6, 1874

“ MY DEAR SIR,—Your name is familiar to me as a household word ; for one of the earliest friends of my boyhood was Mr George Tallack, who, I suppose, was your Uncle [cousin] ; and his sister, Mrs Petherick, was also very kind to me.

“ I am much obliged to you for your kind words and for the papers. I have often noted your name, in connection with philanthropic and other objects, and wondered if you were related to my old friends.

“ I have secured my passage to Natal by ‘ the Roman,’ which sails on the 25th. Mr Shepstone sailed yesterday ; and I think it desirable that I should be on the spot soon after him and lend what help I can towards the carrying out of Lord Carnarvon's plans. Very truly yours,

“ J. W. NATAL ”

Professor Robertson Smith, in a letter from Aberdeen (Dec. 16, 1888), thus referred to some of the Author's published remarks upon Religious Education :—

“ I have long felt very uneasy about our present elementary teaching, which seems to be a mere mechanical application, to all classes, of elementary *mercantile* education, without reference to the first principles that should govern a national school-system.

"In Scotland, the religious difficulty is not felt as it is in England: for an immense majority of the children are members of one or other Presbyterian denomination; and Bible teaching can be given to all, without exciting sectarian jealousies. I do not think that we have much need, under these circumstances, of any fresh steps to keep up the religious fellowship on which you lay stress.

"In England, the problem is much more difficult. I wish we could have, in Church as well as School, a wider catholicity of religious feeling and more friendly co-operation of all who look to the same Saviour and cherish the same eternal hope. Till this is so, Christianity will never again have its proper influence on Society, and give the help it could give to the solution of social problems."

Two letters here follow from Dr Martineau.

"35 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.,
Dec. 21, 1894

"DEAR SIR,—The difficulty of reconciling the moral condition of mankind with the perfections of a holy God no doubt remains still unremoved, and has perhaps been aggravated, rather than relieved, by seeking the solution in either the sacrificial language of the Old Testament, or the redemption-theory of the Apostle Paul. Apart from these, a ray of clear, though partial, vision, completed by reasonable faith, may, I think be found, through the most oppressive aspects of the problem.

"‘Born with sinful tendencies,’ I cannot admit that we are, if by ‘tendency’ be meant instinctive impulse, or activity of our nature. We are endowed with no propension which is, in itself, sinful, and without its place and function in a moral nature. Sin enters only when it is misplaced relatively to another which it displaces from its rightful seat, and when this is done with the secret consciousness of its inferiority of claim. The sin lies, not in the propension, but in the *person*, who, with free will to choose, makes, knowingly, the wrong option. A moral world

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is absolutely inconceivable without the preferential scale of excellence, ascending through our whole series of springs of action, into the midst of which an intelligence able to read it at sight, and a will free to realise the better or the worse, are known to work their way and build up a character.

"From this essential condition of a moral world at all, it must be expected that both low characters and high will be found present in fact, upon the world. The disheartening phenomena arising from the proportion between the two, from the miseries attending the former and their ascendancy, in declining societies, from the distance at which even the foremost ages and peoples stand from a true kingdom of righteousness, can be dealt with in their bearing on the justice and benevolence of God, only on a large survey of the development and history of mankind. That they give no warrant for pessimism, but justify the Faith and Love which press onward and look upward, I have tried to show in a certain book called 'A Study of Religion.'

"The difficulties raised in Mr Newman's 'Phases of Faith' have been treated in Professor Rogers' 'Eclipse of Faith.' But they can never, in my opinion, be satisfactorily dealt with, till there is a better knowledge than yet prevails, in even our educated reading public, respecting the history and character of the Biblical Literature, and especially the origin and growth of the narrative books of the New Testament.

"Accept my thanks for your kind inquiries. I have every reason to be grateful for the remnant of unspent activity and interest in life, as I approach the end of my ninth decade. I remain, dear Sir, Yours very truly,

"JAMES MARTINEAU

"W. TALLACK, Esq."

But is the human will quite so free, in view of *heredity*, as Dr Martineau seems to assume? The writer has recorded some thoughts on this subject, in the concluding chapter of the present volume.

The question of the temporary Existence of Evil need not present insuperable

difficulty. The writer found in the interesting "common-place book" of his late dear wife the following suggestive quotation from Sir E. Bulwer Lytton :—"The mystery of the existence of Evil, whatsoever its degree, only increases the necessity of faith in the vindication of a contrivance which requires Infinity for its end, and Eternity for its consummation.—It is in the existence of Evil that man finds his *duties* and the soul its *progress*."

"THE POLCHAR, AVIEMORE, N.B.,
Aug. 30, 1896

"DEAR MR TALLACK,—The notices which you kindly sent me, I had not seen ; and I am obliged to you for enabling me to read them.

"I am quite of your opinion in regard to the importance of holding fast to the *Christian* essence as the centre of gravity of all true Religion. Nothing can replace the unique personality of Jesus Christ, as the realised image of the perfect relation of the human spirit to the Divine. I deplore the tendency to let go this historical security, in favour of indefinite varieties of philosophical speculation, or poetic fancy. I remain, Yours faithfully,

"JAMES MARTINEAU"

(The above reference to the Author's letter was in respect of his remarks on certain tendencies in modern Unitarianism in a direction less Evangelical than the views of such older Unitarians as Dr W. E. Channing and Dr Martineau himself.)

In 1895 an influential member of the Society of Friends published a letter in which, alluding to our Saviour's words at the Last Supper, he quoted an opinion of Dr Percy Gardner, of Oxford, to the effect that "those famous words of Eucharistic institution were never spoken by our Lord at all, but crept into the Gospel narrative from the first Corinthian Epistle." The same Friend further referred to "Select Readings," by Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort, as confirming that conclusion. This surprised the present

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writer, who, in order to verify the Friend's statement, took the liberty of inquiring from the Bishop of Durham whether he had been correctly quoted. This elicited the following courteous reply :—

"AUCKLAND CASTLE, BISHOP AUCKLAND,
June 4, 1895

"MY DEAR SIR,—The critical opinion which I hold as to the text of St Luke xxii. 17-20, has nothing whatever to do with my judgment on the institution of the Sacraments. Dr Gardner's theory is, as far as I can judge, wholly unfounded. In my little book, 'The Gospel of the Resurrection' (ch. i. par. 61), I have referred to the Sacraments as witnesses to the historic Gospel. They seem to me to be essential to the integrity and permanence of our outward Church.

"When Jeremy Taylor spoke of Holy Communion as an 'extension of the Incarnation,' he expressed, in a striking form, a most valuable truth. It is a truth on which I have dwelt again and again.

"I follow your labours in the cause of Moral Reform with great thankfulness. Yours most truly,

"B. F. DUNELM

"W. TALLACK, Esq."

Two other letters from the Bishop.

"*August 22, 1899*

"MY DEAR SIR,—I shall continue to do whatever I can for Temperance Reform. Hitherto, fanatics have wrecked every reasonable scheme. Perhaps they will learn wisdom. Mr Rowntree's book is, I think, the wisest which has yet been written. Yours faithfully,

"B. F. DUNELM

"W. TALLACK, Esq."

"AUCKLAND CASTLE, BISHOP AUCKLAND,
Nov. 17, 1900

"MY DEAR SIR,—Let me thank you for the copy of the Report. I trust that Temperance Legislation will be quietly

pushed forward in Bills dealing with separate points. The three Bills which the Bishop of Winchester has drafted will be introduced, in the next Session, in the House of Lords. I very much wish that a Bill dealing with the Registration of Clubs could also be introduced.

"Whatever I can do to further partial reform, I shall do most gladly; but the question itself cannot, in my judgment, be rightly settled, as long as the traffic is conducted for private profit. I think that Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell's book is leavening opinion. But popular apathy is hard to stir. Yours most truly,
 "B. F. DUNELM
 "W. TALLACK, Esq."

In a further letter, on the same subject, the Bishop remarked—"The spring of our evils is spiritual, and the remedy must be spiritual."

The Dean of Westminster wrote :—

"DEANERY, WESTMINSTER,
August 7, 1872

"DEAR SIR,—I beg to thank you for your letters and for the enclosures. I think that the quotation from Theodore Parker,—to which others of a like kind might be added, from Voltaire, Rousseau, Carlyle, etc.—is the most effective mode of reply, as it may make these persons ashamed of themselves to feel that they are so much behind the world of Thought, as well as of Religion. Yours faithfully,
 "A. P. STANLEY"

(Written in reference to some attacks on Christianity.)

(Mr Gladstone, M.P., wrote, as follows, in reference to a newspaper statement that he was intending to write a book on Phœnicia.)

"HAWARDEN, *Feb. 12, 1868*

"SIR,—I am very greatly obliged by your courteous letter. I shall keep it by me, in the hope of times of leisure.

"The announcement in the papers is erroneous. I have indeed contributed, to the Quarterly Review, a paper on

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Phœnicia and Greece. But as respects any work, I may mention that I published, ten years ago, a work on Homer, that for nine years I have been very desirous to bring out a new Edition, but that it has been wholly beyond my power. Repeating my sincere acknowledgments, I beg to remain, sir, Your very obedient servant,

“W. E. GLADSTONE

“W. TALLACK, Esq.”

(Sir S. Northcote, afterward Lord Iddesleigh, wrote, in reply to a letter accompanying a book on Prisons, and also inviting his influence, as Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, to prevent cruelty to the dogs used in some of that Company's sledge traffic.)

“PYNES, EXETER,
August 22, 1872

“DEAR SIR,—I have been absent from home on a yachting excursion and find your book, on ‘British Prisons,’ awaiting my return. Pray accept my best thanks for it.

“I will write to our Chief Commissioner, in Rupert's Land, on the subject of the dog-driving, and will urge him to do what he can in the matter. It is, as you have not failed to perceive, very difficult to exercise much control over the half-breeds in those distant territories; but we will try what can be done. Yours very faithfully,

“STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE

“W. TALLACK, Esq.”

The four following notes were from the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.

“BURLEY IN OTLEY, *Feb. 3, 1865.*

“DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged to you for your life-like sketch of Peter Bedford, which I have read with great interest and pleasure, bringing before me, as it does, the image of that kind, brave, sunny-hearted, Christian gentleman. Yours truly,

“W. E. FORSTER”

"80 ECCLESTON SQUARE, S.W.,
Jan. 21, 1869

"DEAR MR TALLACK,—Thank you for your suggestions, which are well worth considering.

"I am glad to see your spirited defence of the peculiar people. [A letter in the *Times*, on the Friends.] Yours truly,
"W. E. FORSTER"

"BURLEY IN WHARFDALE,
Nov. 23, 1869

"DEAR SIR,—Before receiving your note, I had read with interest your letter. If you have the statistics of the number of Friends in the United States, compared with the number of children at schools provided by the Society, I should be glad to have them. I return to London to-morrow. Yours truly,
"W. E. FORSTER"

"W. TALLACK, Esq."

"80 ECCLESTON SQUARE, S.W.,
January 23, 1870

"DEAR SIR,—Thank you for your note and newspaper extracts. I am really sorry to have given you so much trouble by my question as to Quaker Education in the States, but the information, when obtained, will be both curious and interesting. Yours truly,

"W. E. FORSTER"

"WM. TALLACK, Esq."

The writer having visited the interesting old city of Wisby, in the island of Gothland, in the Baltic, inquired of Professor E. A. Freeman, as a leading historical authority, what connection the Goths had with that island. He received the following courteous reply :—

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"SOMERLEAZE, WELLS, SOMERSET,
September 26, 1880

"DEAR SIR,—I have never been in Gothland, but I have heard a good deal of the Wisby Churches. I don't think there are any that can be so early as A.D. 1050. There is not much north of the Alps so early as that. But Wisby plays a great part in the history of the Hanseatic League.

"The name Gotland has nothing to do with the Goths, not even with what I may call the false Goths of Sweden, the real Gauts, or Gautes, from whom the Swedish Kings take their title of 'King of the Goths.' It is surely just Good-land.

"But none of these can have anything to do with the name *Gothic* architecture, a name given in contempt, by the Renaissance School, a name absurd, if the national Goths are meant, but not without a certain fitness, if *Gothic* be used, as it sometimes is, in a wider sense.

"The Byzantine and Cufic coins, in the North, are, doubtless, mainly the spoil of Wikings and the pay of Warangians; but I daresay Wisby trade may have brought some also. The image and superscription of Cæsar was respected everywhere. Believe me, yours faithfully,

"EDWARD A. FREEMAN"

In a previous letter to the Author, dated January 23, 1876, on the Eastern Question, Professor Freeman wrote:—

"I cannot say that I wish Russia to take the land which I had rather call Rumania than Turkey. Still, any change would be for the better, in such a case. I should like to add Herzegovina to Montenegro and Bosnia to Austria. That province, with its large Mahometan minority, would be best in the hands of some neutral Power."

But possibly even so high an authority as Professor Freeman might be mistaken about the Goths and Sweden.

It is at least suggestive that the celebrated Gothic Gospels, of Ulphilas, one of the special treasures of the University of Upsal, indicate a great similarity between very many Gothic words and the languages of Sweden, Denmark,

Friesland, and England. That precious manuscript tends to raise a conjecture that the Gothic influence and tongue extended, in a vast semi-circle, all the way from the Danube to the Baltic and round, by the North Sea, to Britain. For the old Gothic language comes remarkably close, in many words, even to our modern English.

Dr Jackson, Bishop of London, wrote :—

“FULHAM PALACE, S.W.,
August 10, 1872

“DEAR SIR,—The papers you have been good enough to send me prove the great activity of the enemies of religion and the need for any effort to counteract it.

“I am, however, old enough to remember the days of Taylor, Owen, etc., when Tom Paine was in almost every workman’s hands, and when very few indeed, among the working-classes, were bold enough to stand out for Christ.

“In this latter respect, at least, our own days are more hopeful; and it has often seemed to me as if the two forces of good and evil were mustering on each side, as if for the final contest of the latter days.

“Where the victory will be, we cannot doubt. Faithfully
yours,

“J. LONDIN

“Mr W. TALLACK.”

A Quaker paper elicited the following from Canon Liddon :—

“CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
22 Feb. 1884

“MY DEAR SIR,—Pray let me thank you for the interesting extract from the Pall Mall Gazette which you have sent me. It certainly shows that the benevolent and philanthropic activity of the Friends is greatly out of proportion to their small numbers, and in other respects also very interesting.

“I remember, many years ago, being struck with a passage on Quakerism in the well-known ‘Symbolik’ of the German Roman Catholic writer Möhler, of which your paper is an illustration. Pray let me thank you once more and remain, Yours very truly,

“H. P. LIDDON

“W. TALLACK, Esq.”

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In another letter from Canon Liddon, he thus refers to a paper by the Author on "the Brethren of the Common Life," in Holland, during the Middle Ages :—

"I have often thought that the Brethren of the Common Life afford a model, with some necessary changes, for a Society which might help us out of some of our social difficulties. It seems to be certain that no co-operative associations, and still more, no legislative provisions, can do this, unless the Christian principles of self-denial and self-sacrifice, for our Lord's sake, are inculcated and realised. Is it not so?"

In 1879, the then Bishop of Manchester wrote to the Author, in reference to some published observations by the latter, on returning from a visit to Germany, as follows :—

"Your account of the moral state of Germany is full of instruction to us in England, where, it seems to me, we are in some danger of being tempted to try the experiment that apparently has failed there—whether Education, Art-culture, and the like, may not take the place of Christianity and do the work of civilisation more effectively."

The Bishop of Lincoln wrote :—

"RISEHOLME, LINCOLN,
5 June 1880

"DEAR SIR,—I thank you much for your letter and interesting enclosures. My grandparents, Charles Lloyd, of Birmingham, and his wife, on my mother's side, were members of the Society of Friends, and I shall ever feel a deep interest in its proceedings.

"Some time ago when my dear cousin Bevan Braithwaite, with whom I was staying, conducted me into his study, which was well stocked with good editions of the Greek and Latin Fathers, with whose writings he is conversant (and I remember he read to me a beautiful hymn by Prudentius, that on the martyrdom of Lawrence, at breakfast), I put to him this question—'How is it, my dear cousin, that you

read and love the writings of the Christian Fathers and yet do not acknowledge the divine institution of the Sacrament of Baptism, which every one of those Fathers, without exception, believed to be the sacrament of the New Birth?' I am, my dear sir, Your obliged,

"C. LINCOLN"

The Bishop did not record the answer given to his question by Mr Braithwaite (who was an esteemed minister in the Society of Friends, and a man of such influence among them, that John Bright spoke of him, jocularly, as the Friends' "Bishop of Westminster"). But perhaps he might have replied that, in the New Testament, Baptism is represented as a *sequence*, or as a sign, of New Birth; as, for instance, where St Peter, at Cæsarea (Acts x. 47), exclaimed, "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which *have* received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" This seems to prove that Spiritual regeneration and visible baptism are by no means necessarily simultaneous, but are separate operations. The "regeneration" in baptism is but a fresh birth, or entry, into a new community, namely, the Christian Church. And this may be either beneficial, or useless, in proportion to the subsequent education, environment, and conduct of the baptised person.

The following two notes were from Archbishop Tait:—

"ADDISCOMBE PARK, CROYDON,
Dec. 21, 1875

"SIR,—I have received your letter of the 16th instant, enclosing a copy of your letter in the Hour newspaper respecting the Nestorian Christians. I regret that I am unable to comply with your request, as I have already done all that lies in my power to assist the cause of the Nestorian Church at present. Yours truly,

"A. C. CANTUAR

"WM. TALLACK, Esq."

(It had been respectfully suggested to the Archbishop that perhaps he might be able to interpose to diminish the persecutions then being undergone by some of the Nestorians—two of whose race had lately visited the author.)

"23rd February 1876

"DEAR SIR,—Allow me to thank you for sending me the printed paper, 'Is Intemperance irrepressible?' which I

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have read with great interest. Believe me to be, Yours faithfully,

"A. C. CANTUAR

"WILLIAM TALLACK, Esq."

(From Lord Salisbury, also in reply to a letter on behalf of the Nestorians.)

"HATFIELD HOUSE, HATFIELD, HERTS,
May 3

"DEAR SIR,—I desired my Private Secretary to answer you, but I presume he has omitted to do so. Another gentleman made the same request at the same time you did, and I desired an answer to be sent to both, saying I should be happy to see the [Nestorian] Deacon Abraham. I did see him on Wednesday last. Yours very truly,

"SALISBURY

"W. TALLACK, Esq."

Sir Harry Verney, Bart., a veteran statesman who had long taken an interest in the Howard Association, and had spoken highly of it, wrote the following letter to the Secretary on the subject of army immorality.

"CLAYDON HOUSE, WINSLOW, BUCKS,
Oct. 2, 1890

"DEAR SIR,—I must offer you my thanks for your kindness in writing to me on the subject of my letter to the Times, published in the outer sheet of yesterday. Until I received your letter, I did not know that the Times had accepted the letter. I feared that they had declined to insert it, as the subject of it is one to which the Times is not in the habit of referring.

"The object, now, is to get the letter inserted in other papers and to *get the matter considered*.

"I believe the question to be a national as well as a religious one. If purity from youth prevailed among ten thousand soldiers, they would be more than a match for twenty thousand among whom purity was unknown.

" And an old man (if I live two months, I shall be in my 90th year) is the right person to speak, or write on the subject. I am, dear Sir, Yours faithfully and obediently,

" HARRY VERNEY "

An acknowledgment from Mr Spurgeon :—

" NIGHTINGALE LANE, CLAPHAM,
Dec. 2, 1876

" DEAR MR TALLACK,—Many thanks for *The Friend* and for many another paper sent from time to time. May your good work prosper. I trust the present stagnation in the moral world will soon give place to a rush of reform. Yours heartily,

C. H. SPURGEON "

The following note was elicited by a letter from the Author, in *The Christian World*, in reply to a communication from a correspondent who had written somewhat disparagingly of the place in salvation occupied by the death of Christ. The Author had urged in his reply the importance of "both aspects of salvation—the grace of Christ's death and also that of His risen life and Holy Spirit. Nevertheless the *death* of Christ, was, and is, the *central* truth in regard to Him." Mr Spurgeon wrote :—

" MENTONE, Jan. 9, 1892

" MY DEAR SIR,—I feel grateful to you for that letter. It needs, in these days, that we guard the precious truth of the Great Sacrifice. You have written wisely. The point was as delicate as it is important. You have spoiled the game of the adversary. Yours heartily,

" C. H. SPURGEON "

The above note was probably one of the last written by Mr Spurgeon, as he died in the same month.

At one period the writer took considerable interest in the "Temple Society," of German Colonists in Palestine, who,

under the protection of their own Government, made some admirable industrial settlements in the Holy Land particularly at Jaffa and Haifa. In an address at Mildmay, in London, Mr George Müller, the founder of the Orphan Homes, at Ashley Down, Bristol, made some strictures upon the doctrinal opinions of some of those Colonists. A letter of inquiry from the Author elicited the following response :—

“ HEIDELBERG, *Sept.* 18, 1882

“ TO W. TALLACK, Esq.

“ DEAR SIR,—I am absent from England, on a preaching tour, and your letter has been forwarded to me.

“ What I stated at the Mildmay Conference, regarding my preaching tour in the East, was particularly said, to lead Christians in England, who then might hear me, to pray for the Christians in the East and especially for those who labour in word and doctrine.

“ The statements about some of the Temple Society are no secret ; but those who are sound in the foundation truths of our holy faith and are acquainted with that Society are aware of what I stated.

“ I heard of these things first, five years ago, in the United States of America. When, in the beginning of October, last year, I was preaching at Stuttgart, an evangelist who for many years was connected with a Temple leader, but who, at last, on account of fundamental errors had been obliged to separate from him, was on the point of going to Haifa, to labour in the German Colony there, because about thirty Christians who had separated from the Colony, on account of errors, had invited him to labour amongst them, in word and doctrine. This Christian man invited me earnestly to go to Haifa, in order to help him in his labours, by seeking to bring others out of their errors and to ground and settle those in the truth, who had separated from the errors.

“ Similar testimonies I heard while I was in Wurtemberg.

“ When I came to Jaffa, some Christians who knew me by

report, or personally, having heard me preach in Wurtemberg, sought to obtain for me the hall where the German Colony met. This was granted and I was glad of it, that I might benefit those who were in error, not by exposing their errors (much less by referring to any person) but simply preaching the truth.

"I preached once, on verses five and six of Isaiah liii. I only gave out simple Gospel truths, without even, in the most indirect way, referring to the errors amongst the hearers. The next morning I received a letter from the representative of the Colony stating that the hall could no longer be given to me. The reason for this was obvious. I had preached salvation through the death of Christ alone, by faith in Him; and I had also referred to the Divinity of Christ, without, however, especially dwelling on it.

"I met with a number of Christians in the East who confirmed all that I had heard previously. This was particularly, also, the case when I came to Haifa, where I preached twelve days.

"These are the reasons, dear Sir, why I said at the Mildmay Conference what I did say. I am, dear Sir, Yours truly,

GEORGE MÜLLER "

The writer has been informed that most of the members of the Temple Society in Palestine, have latterly rejoined the Lutheran Church from which they had previously seceded.

A letter in reference to a meeting on the Eastern question.

"July 29, 1876

"DEAR SIR,—I am obliged by your note. The Meeting, thank God, was a great success. The real atrocities of Turkey cannot be stated by word of mouth in public assemblies. Yours obediently,

SHAFTESBURY

"W. TALLACK, Esq."

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One of the Author's letters to the Press, in defence of Christian Truth, elicited the following acknowledgment :—

“ 24 GROSVENOR SQUARE, W.,
March 17, 1881

“ DEAR MR TALLACK,—Many thanks for your paper of observations. The great and essential doctrine of Justification by Faith has been, in the estimation of such authors as you quote, exploded a hundred times over ; and they assert the same of every vital doctrine of Christianity. There is nothing for it but to be steady, as you are; and, under God's blessing, encounter them, whenever you can. Yours truly,
“SHAFTESBURY ”

The following was the last of many letters received by the Author from Mr Henry Richard, M.P. Five days later, he died suddenly, of angina pectoris, whilst on a visit to his friend Mr Davies, M.P., at Treborth, amongst the people and scenes he had loved so well. He was, as Mr Gladstone said of him, “a most excellent Welshman,” and one of the most patriotic and helpful sons that the Principality ever possessed.

“ TREBORTH, BANGOR, NORTH WALES,
August 15, 1888.

“ DEAR SIR,—I was very glad to receive your letter. I hope this will reach you before you leave Tenby.

“ We came down here on Tuesday the 9th. This is a most charming spot ; a fine house surrounded by undulating and richly wooded grounds, on one side commanding a splendid view of the Menai Straits, and on the other, of the Snowdonian range of Carnarvonshire mountains. The weather has been somewhat chequered. Last week it was dull and cold and showery ; but yesterday and to-day have been glorious summer days.

“ My health is much as usual, except that I fear my

attacks of pain, in the region of the heart, are more frequent and acute. I might say that I am well : I eat and drink and sleep like a man in good health and greatly enjoy our beautiful surroundings here, though I cannot conceal from myself that I carry a dangerous mischief within me.

"I hope you will profit by your rustication and carry back with you a good store of vigour and energy for the accomplishment of your great work. I have no doubt it will prove a very valuable production, because it will be the result of long and patient study of a most important question.

"I have brought down with me some materials for work which I want done. But I find it difficult to settle to it, amid the pleasant distractions, out of doors and in-doors, by which I am surrounded.

"I hope you and your son are enjoying the same perfect weather as we are having here. My wife joins in kind regards with, Yours very truly, HENRY RICHARD "

When, in 1868, Mr Richard, then Secretary of the Peace Society, became Member of Parliament for Merthyr Tydvil, he invited the writer to relieve him of some of the literary and editorial work of that Society, for which his new duties no longer left him so much time as previously. For many years the Author thus continued to use his pen in behalf of the cause of International Arbitration and Peace, and was brought into frequent personal communication with Mr Richard.

In one of his conversations Mr Richard mentioned that some part of his success with the electors of Merthyr Tydvil was owing to a want of tact on the part of his predecessor in the representation of that borough, Mr H. A. Bruce (afterwards Lord Aberdare). The latter had given great umbrage to many of the Welsh colliers by an allusion to their "dirty hands." A subsequent extension of the franchise enabled them to reply, "Now our dirty hands have got votes in them !" and they turned out Mr Bruce, and elected Mr Richard as their Member. He served them well and faithfully, and was repeatedly re-elected, as long as he lived.

Mr Richard maintained pleasant relations, however, with Lord Aberdare. He told the writer that on one occasion they were travelling up to London together from South Wales, and their conversation turned upon Disraeli, whom neither of them admired, and whom they regarded as the Apostle of Jingoism and the callous patron of "the unspeakable Turk "; Lord Aberdare mentioned that when he was in attendance on the Queen at Balmoral, as Minister at the Court, one of the Royal Princesses brought him her album, with a request that he would write something in it. Before doing so he turned over the pages, and found a composition by Disraeli, couched in terms of the most fulsome flattery.

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It is well known that, in 1882, Mr Bright took an honourable course in resigning his office as Cabinet Minister, as an expression of his strong disapproval of the bombardment of Alexandria. But it is not so generally known that he was specially influenced to take that step by his friend Henry Richard. That gentleman told the writer that, immediately after hearing of the bombardment, he went to Mr Bright and expressed his grief that, in particular, such an event should have taken place under the administration of a Government of which he was a conspicuous member. It was not until after this conversation that Mr Bright resigned office; and he subsequently informed Mr Richard that he had felt so uncomfortable, under the remarks of the latter, that he felt he could no longer hold his ministerial position.

Mr Richard also wrote letters of expostulation, both to Mr Gladstone, the Premier, and to Earl Granville, Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reference to the bombardment, sending to each an article which he had written on the subject in the *Herald of Peace*, then, as now, the organ of the Peace Society. He received the following replies:—

From Mr GLADSTONE

“10 DOWNING STREET,
WHITEHALL, *Sept.* 3, 1882

“DEAR MR RICHARD,—I thank you for sending me the *Herald of Peace*, and I have carefully read the contents. I will only hazard a single observation.

“I am not conscious of any change in my own standard of action, or in that of my colleagues, since the day when, after three military miscarriages, we tried severely the temper of the Nation by declining to shed the blood of the Boers of the Transvaal, and offered them peace. Believe me, faithfully yours,

“W. E. GLADSTONE”

From EARL GRANVILLE

“WALMER CASTLE,
DEAL, *Sept.* 4, '82

“DEAR MR RICHARD,—Many thanks for sending me your article. It is a powerful attack upon a policy which I believe was necessary. It is, however, painful to me to

differ from men for whom I have such a regard as yourself and Bright. Yours sincerely,

“GRANVILLE”

The Author, on more than one occasion, wrote in the *Times* on the subject of “Forestry.” In a letter from the Earl of Derby on this topic, Sept. 18, 1886, the latter remarked :—

“I should heartily co-operate in any movement for the extension of planting in the British Islands. We have too little woodland now, and shall probably have less. But it is not a paying business: at least no landowner, that I know of, has ever made it so. And it is work which requires skilled labour; so that it would not be a good resource for unemployed hands with no previous training.”

Lord Lister, F.R.S., sent the following note :—

“12 PARK CRESCENT, PORTLAND PLACE,
11 Nov. 1901

“DEAR MR TALLACK,—I am very sorry to learn that you are so much of an invalid. But it is wonderful how well a man may get on with only one lung. And I hope that, with the quiet life which you will now lead, you may have before you many years of useful life.

“As for me, as you kindly inquire, I may say that I am perhaps as well as a man nearer 75 than 74 has reason to expect. Very truly yours,

“LISTER”

The reference to “one lung,” in the above letter, was in allusion to the Author’s own condition after several attacks of pneumonia, bronchitis, and influenza. However, God mercifully permitted him, notwithstanding, to live for some years subsequently. He derived much benefit from moderate daily exercise in the open air, much flannel over the chest and back, careful attention to ventilation, but without draught, the avoidance of exposure to cold winds, the frequent inhalation of lachnanthes (the Indian “red root”) and peppermint, and the practice of swallowing a little salt in cold water the first thing on waking in the morning (this tends especially to ward off bronchitis). The so-called “open-air cure” of consumption is often carried to such an excess, both as to overfeeding and exposure to draughts, as to produce fatal results.

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This acknowledgment is from William Morris.

“KELMSCOTT HOUSE, UPPER MALL,
HAMMERSMITH, *Sept.* 12, 1882

“DEAR SIR,—I beg to thank you for your contribution to the Icelandic Relief Fund. Of course, emigration will go on from Iceland, as it has for some years past ; but I cannot agree with you in wishing to see the land unpeopled, since in ordinary years the people live there happily enough, and in many respects live a much better life than the mass of people do in richer countries. I am, dear Sir, Yours faithfully,

“WILLIAM MORRIS

“W. TALLACK, Esq.”

The Author had remarked that perhaps the Icelanders would be better off if they emigrated *en masse* to America. For, notwithstanding the abundance of land to each unit of the population in Iceland, the soil is so unfertile and the climate so rigorous, that at times the inhabitants can only feed their hardy little ponies on dried fish.

A correspondent of the Howard Association, to whom the Author had written on behalf of a convict, replied, kindly promising attention to the case, and also containing the following interesting remarks :—

“What I feel about these sort of cases is that each one is a man on the earth, with a soul and a destiny, and that Christ had hope for everybody, and died to save them, hypocrites and all. And if He died for them, we need not say they are not worth a little trouble, or love, or heart ; and so I thank God He gave Himself for me, and I may do what I can for others. It is time enough to give them up when they are dead, and then we only give them into the hands of a loving God.

“I remember a poor widow, whose son came out of prison and went to a sort of home he had made with a woman of no character, and died there. If only he had come home to his mother’s house, she was sure he would have yielded to good influences, and been saved before he died.

“All the comfort I could find for her was to say : ‘Do you think that God, his Father, did not love him as much as you, his mother ?’ To which she replied, with confidence :

‘I am sure He did.’ ‘And if he had gone to your home, you think there was a good side in his character, that you would have influenced and got him changed?’ ‘Yes I do.’ ‘Well now, you see, God, instead of letting him go to your home, has taken him to His own; and do you not think God will do as much for him *there* as you could have done if you had had him? I cannot think that God will let anything that is good be lost.’

“I do not know if the theology is orthodox, but it seemed to me true as I talked to the poor mother; and I think she felt there was something in it, and was comforted.”

The following letter is an interesting specimen of the kind and helpful manner in which many “elders” of the Society of Friends are accustomed to exercise their office of watching over the Ministry of the Society. It was written to the Author on the occasion of his being officially “recorded” as a recognised Minister of that body.

Mr Fox was an elder of Stoke Newington Meeting of Friends, a congregation with which the Author was also associated for more than forty years. Mr Fox was one of the members of the Committee of the Howard Association from its commencement, and rendered to it very useful service.

“4TH MONTH, 24, 1883

“DEAR WILLIAM,—I seem to have so much to write to thee about, that one letter won’t hold it all.

“Now, there is the serious and important fact of thy Church—in which thou wast born and hast been brought up, and which thou hast steadfastly laboured to serve all thy life—having given thee its deliberate sanction as a Minister of Christ, or an edifier of the Church, under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

“I know that in one point of view this may be regarded as nothing—that to our Divine Master we stand or fall, that to Him we are accountable for our talents, whatever be their kind or their degree. Serve *Him* with all thy heart, not thinking what man shall do unto thee.

"Still there is an humbler point of view, which is also part of the Divine ordering—that we live amongst one another, have to help one another, have to be subject to one another in love. And herein the feeling of the unity of brethren and sisters is, or should be, a source of strength.

"I do indeed rejoice at this for thee and for our Meeting. May this step, delayed as it has been, be blessed to thee and thy dear children, as well as to the Meeting to whose spiritual needs thou art called to minister. May God help thee, my dear friend, lighten thy burdens, cheer thy path in every way, whether it be of evangelization, of instruction, of gentle reproof, or encouragement: may it ever resound with anthems of praise. Thy attached friend,

"J. J. Fox"

Sir Richard Tangye, of the well-known Firm of Birmingham engineers, and, with his brother George, a munificent friend of the public institutions of that city, was in his younger days much associated with the Author; and being from the same county, Cornwall, a life-long friendship was established between them. The following is one of a long series of letters from Sir Richard. It was written on reading a letter from the Author in a Quaker journal, expressing his hope for the final salvation of all men, on the ground of a trust in the justice and fairness of the Almighty.

"GLENDORGAL, NEWQUAY, CORNWALL,
17th October, 1893

"MY DEAR FRIEND WILLIAM TALLACK,—Thank you for yours of the 13th, and particularly for your very excellent and most comforting letter to *The Friend*, in which you express so clearly just what I have come to feel.

"We are not responsible for having come into this state of existence, and surely this fact will have much greater weight with Infinite Justice than some poor mortals are inclined to give it. There is a noble poem of Tennyson that beautifully expresses this sentiment:—

‘Strong Son of God !

Thou madest life in man and brute.

Thou wilt not leave us in the dust ;

Thou madest man, he knows not why ;

He thinks he was not made to die ;

And Thou hast made him : Thou art just.’

“ If Dr Watts came to life again he would recall some of his “ Darkness, fire, and chains ” hymns.

“ I had a good talk with J. Thackray Bunce [of the *Birmingham Daily Post*] about you and your work, not long ago, and he promised more attention to the Howard Association Reports in future.

“ We have had glorious weather here, and I expect we shall stay till the end of November. With good wishes and pleasant memories, I am, Your friend most truly,

“ RICHARD TANGYE ”

CHAPTER VI

AMERICAN LETTERS

American Correspondence — American Influences on Europe — The Poet Whittier—Samuel M. Janney—Ex-President Hayes—Elihu Burritt—Robert Treat Paine—Booker T. Washington—William Lloyd Garrison—Rev. Dr E. C. Wines—Mr W. M. F. Round—General Brinkerhoff—Major R. W. M'Claghry—Mr Z. R. Brockway—Other U.S. Correspondents.

AFTER the Author's visit to the United States in 1860, he always felt a special interest in that great nation, its people and institutions. And his Secretaryship of the Howard Association brought him into continuous communication with many Americans. He was repeatedly invited to contribute papers for discussion at the various Congresses on Prisons and Crime Prevention held from time to time in the United States.

One of these was written at the request of the U.S. National Prison Association, for the St Louis Congress of 1874. And in 1884, when a second similar Congress was held in the same city, the Author was again invited by Mr J. Russell Lowell, the then American Ambassador in London, to furnish a paper for that gathering; a request he had much pleasure in complying with, especially as coming from that eminent Poet and Diplomatist. Mr Lowell had on a previous occasion, expressed his interest in the publications and work of the Howard Association.

The people of the United States have often taken an active share in promoting improvements in Prison Discipline and Criminal Treatment, and have at times materially stimulated European interest in those subjects.¹

¹ In the Author's paper for the St Louis Congress of 1874, he remarked—
“Although separated from Europe by thousands of miles of ocean, the United

A few out of the many American letters addressed to the Author, may be here introduced, together with some brief notices of their writers. Most of the American correspondence of the writer has been destroyed, in common with most other letters from other parts of the world, which he replied to at their respective dates.

The writer, in passing through New England in 1860, spent a day at Amesbury, in order to visit the Quaker poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, by whom he was most pleasantly received, and with whom he had much conversation.

Whittier resided in a street appropriately named Friend Street. At that time his sister Elizabeth shared his home, a neat comfortable house amidst shady trees. The poet's parlour contained a good library, indicating a liberal mind and cultivated taste on the part of its owner. It included the works of the chief American and English Poets, many books on travel and topography, a favourite subject with Whittier, together with such books as the "Confessions of

States have often exerted as great an influence on this side of the Atlantic, as some of the chief European nations have exercised. Their Statesmen, Authors, and Philanthropists live, work, and write, for both Hemispheres. The simple grandeur of Washington and Lincoln holds sway over European as over American hearts; whilst the Emancipation Proclamation of the latter, like that of the Russian Emperor, Alexander II., will shine for ever as one of the sublimest beacon-lights of universal history. The eloquence of Sumner, Wendell Phillips, and Lloyd Garrison, has echoed beyond the roar of the waves, in lands charmed by the voices of John Bright, Lacordaire, Cavour, and Castelar. The soul of John Brown of Ossawatimie, "marched on" to stir the pulses of peoples astounded at Garibaldi's more successful, but not bolder exploits on behalf of outraged freedom. The campaigns of Grant, Sherman, Lee, and Stonewall Jackson, excited the interest of European strategists, side by side with the extraordinary achievements of Moltke and Bismarck. The great "path-finders" of the Western wilderness, such as Fremont, by pioneering for the Pacific Railways, have equalled the French De Lesseps of the Suez Canal project, in preparing new routes for cosmopolitan transit. Morse, Maury, and Cyrus Field, alike with Faraday, Wheatstone, and Brunel, have aided the Telegraphy, the Navigation, and the general international intercourse of both worlds. The heroic explorations of Dr Livingstone will live in close association with the intrepid American enterprise of Stanley. The poems of Whittier and Longfellow are as cosmopolitan as those of Tennyson and Beranger; whilst the writings of the noble William Ellery Channing have few rivals in Europe in their power of expanding the thoughts of men."

St Augustine," "Pepys' Diary," and "John Woolman's Life." The last-named was specially valued by Whittier, who spoke of Woolman as perhaps the noblest character in Quaker history. He mentioned that Dr W. E. Channing once told him that he was astonished at the little appreciation of Woolman, manifested by the American Friends, judging from the very few copies of his writings which they appeared to possess.

As to "Pepys' Diary," Whittier remarked that it ought to be read in connection with George Fox's Journal, in order to show the need for earnest and even violent opposition to the vice and irreligion rampant in the Court and country, during the reign of Charles II., in the early days of Quakerism.

He considered Tennyson's "In Memoriam" to be the best religious poem of the century.

Within sight of Amesbury is Newburyport where the great preacher George Whitfield died and was buried. But he was not a favourite character with Whittier who described him as being "blind as a bat," because he opposed Governor Oglethorpe's philanthropic anti-slavery views. The Poet stated that Whitfield, when residing in Georgia, said that that Colony could not prosper without "niggers and rum."

Whittier was a fine tall man, with dark deep-set eyes and a profoundly thoughtful look which is insufficiently shown in many of his portraits. He was from boyhood subject to constant headaches and perhaps on that account wore a white hat, as being cooler than a black one.

He was brought up in his youth as a shoemaker. Later on, he became the editor, in succession, of several anti-slavery newspapers. In Philadelphia, a pro-slavery mob, in 1840, broke into his office and burned it. From outside, he looked on, in disguise, and then had to flee for his life. Even many of the Friends in the city, at that period, were so lukewarm on the question of Slavery, that they scarcely manifested any sympathy with him.

He was again mobbed at Concord, in New Hampshire, when visiting that place in company with an anti-slavery advocate from England. On that occasion, one of Daniel Webster's nieces, being present, was so indignant at the treatment of Whittier and his friend that she expressed her willingness to die with them. Whilst appreciating the kindness of her motive, he could not help good humouredly asking her—"And what good would that do for us?"

Whittier had many friends amongst the Unitarians and outside what was considered the "orthodox" circles of New England. He mentioned to the writer one eminent Unitarian who very earnestly prayed to God to save the life of a sister who appeared to be dying. She began to recover from that instant.

Whittier took much interest in the educational and other progress of his fellow townsmen at Amesbury and was greatly esteemed by them. In early life, he had been disappointed in a love affair and he never married.

A friend of Whittier informed the writer that a fellow-student of his, at Harvard University, who was violently pro-slavery in his feelings and in the selection of subjects for his elocutionary exercises, was once induced by his class-mates to recite Whittier's stirring poem, entitled "Massachusetts to Virginia." This led him to read the other poems by the same writer, and with the effect that he became as strongly opposed to slavery as he had previously been favourable to it. He became also an enthusiastic admirer of the Poet. In later years, when married, he used to read Whittier's poems to his wife during her last illness and subsequently visited the poet and informed him that his writings had been most helpful and comforting to them both.

Many localities in New England derive additional interest from their connection with the poems of Whittier, who had a very keen appreciation of their natural beauties and historic associations.

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After his American visit, the Author heard from Whittier, on several occasions.

In 1882, the Poet wrote—"I watch with interest the doings of your Association and thy own labours, as Secretary, to promote practical Christianity."

And subsequently, acknowledging a copy of "Penological Principles," Mr Whittier replied by the following letter :—

"OAK KNOLL, DANVERS, MASS.,
10th of 8th mo., 1888

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I thank thee for a gift of a copy of thy admirable book, so creditable to thy head and heart. Thy abundant labours in the cause of humanity, I have watched for years with great interest and hearty sympathy.

"I am weary of creeds and dogmas, as well as of the gush of much which is called Evangelical. More and more I love the old ways of Grellet and Woolman, but have no controversy with others. Let everyone be persuaded in his own mind.

"I am now in my 81st year and feeble in health. My work is done. I wish it were better done ; but I trust I am thankful that I cannot glory in myself, and that my sole trust is in the goodness of God.

"The sentiment of mine, quoted by thee in thy letter, remains unchanged. As I said not long ago—

'Age brings me no despairing
Of the world's future faring ;
In human nature still
I find more good than ill.'

"I am, with kind regards, Thy friend,

"JOHN G. WHITTIER"

In 1896 the Author was visited by some friends of Whittier, namely, Mr and Mrs Aaron W. Powell, of New York, who mentioned several interesting matters respecting the Poet. They said that after the death of their only child they met Whittier in New York and told him what a comfort some of his poems had been to them in their affliction. This drew him out in unusual freedom of expression, for he was habitually rather reserved, and he spoke to them of the deep trials he had himself passed through, especially how much he had felt the bereavements of

family life, particularly the death of his sister, and also the disappointment of his own early love.

Mr Powell said that at the great Congress of Representatives of all Religions held in Chicago, the hymns of Whittier were the chief and almost the only ones which could be *unitedly* sung by that mixed assembly.

He also related his reminiscence of the meeting of Don Pedro, the Emperor of Brazil, with Mr Whittier. That monarch was a great admirer of the Poet's writings and had some of them translated into Portuguese. When he visited Boston, he expressed a particular wish to see Whittier, who was therefore invited to meet him, together with a distinguished company, including Longfellow, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and the elite of the New England literati. When the Emperor arrived he at once inquired for Whittier, and on being brought to him, put his arm around him and kissed him, somewhat to the shy Poet's embarrassment. The Emperor then sat down by Whittier and continued to converse with him during nearly all the time of his stay, scarcely taking any notice of the other members of that distinguished assembly.

Some years after the Civil War, President Grant appointed several members of the Society of Friends to the office of Protector of the Indian Tribes. One of these was Samuel M. Janney, of Virginia, the Author of a standard "Life of William Penn." The following is a letter addressed by him to the writer :—

" LINCOLN, LOUDOUN COUNTY, VA.,
7th month, 29th, 1875

" ESTEEMED FRIEND, WILLIAM TALLACK,—I have received and read with much pleasure the papers thou sent me by mail and particularly thy sketch of William Penn (in the *Sunday at Home*). Everything relating to the life and character of that great and good man interests me, and thy essay meets my approbation.

" For some years past I have at times been actively engaged in the work of Indian civilisation. In the year 1869, at the request of Friends, I consented to accept the office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the State of Nebraska, to which I was appointed by President Grant. Six Agencies, comprising about 6000 Indians, were placed under my care, and I remained in office two years and four months, until my health became impaired, when I resigned and returned to my home. My health has been restored

and I am now acting as a member of the Executive Committee on Indian Affairs, representing six Yearly Meetings (or Provinces) of Friends.

"The Indian reports are generally encouraging; and we think greater progress has latterly been made by the Indians than ever before in the same length of time.

"In addition to the care of the Indians, there is, in this country, a great field of labour open to Christian workers, in educating the coloured people. They generally prize the privileges conferred by the Act of Emancipation, and are desirous to have their children placed at school; but their moral condition is generally low, as might be expected from their training under the degrading system of Slavery.

"I feel assured that every effort we make to promote the welfare of the human family, with a sincere desire to do the will of God, will bring the reward of peace to our minds, even though we may see but little fruit from our labours. Thy cordial friend,

SAMUEL M. JANNEY."

Here follow two letters from Mr Hayes, Ex-President of the United States.

"SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO,
25 June, 1890

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am greatly your debtor for your kindness in sending me the *Times* notice¹ of our Nashville meetings. On this whole subject, public opinion governs. Whoever aids to inform and correct public sentiment, helps the good cause.

"If you have not received the last three or four volumes of our Proceedings, I will be pleased to forward them to you. With thanks and all good wishes, Very sincerely,

"RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

"MR WILLIAM TALLACK, London"

¹ Written for the *Times* by the Secretary of the Howard Association.

"SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO,
21 October 1891

"MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—The members of the National Prison Association appreciate your kindness in furnishing them with valuable papers in time for the annual Congress at Pittsburg. I beg you to receive my formal thanks, also, for valuable attentions. I venture to send you the Press reports of our Proceedings of the Congress. The many newspapers of Pittsburg all printed a full synopsis daily. The one I send is no fuller than was given in other papers.

"I mention this, because, in our country, the public attention is engaged in politics, enterprises and benevolences, in a way that is so absorbing that Prisons and Prison Management find it almost impossible to get a hearing. Our difficulty is not wrong-headedness, but indifference and inattention. With best wishes, sincerely,

"RUTHERFORD B. HAYES"

The Howard Association interchanged frequent communication with the National Prison Association of the United States and other kindred societies in America. For some years the President of that Association was Mr Rutherford B. Hayes and in that capacity he occasionally wrote to the Howard Association, and he also repeatedly quoted its literature and opinions in his speeches on Penal Reform. He was highly esteemed by the advocates of improved Prison Discipline throughout the United States and his wise counsels, together with the influence derived from his former position as the chief ruler of the nation, gave special weight to his opinions.

Mr Hayes' career was an interesting one. He was a native of Ohio, a State rivalling Virginia and Massachusetts in being the birth-place of many eminent men. His great abilities and the charm of his personality caused him to be three times elected Governor of his own State. In 1876 he was nominated by the Republican Party, for the Presidency of the Union, in succession to General Grant's second term of office. But the Democratic Party nominated Mr Tilden of New York for the post. The contest between the two candidates was an unusually close one, and in fact both Parties claimed to have carried their choice. Immense excitement resulted all over the United States, and for months the result was doubtful. As the ordinary modes of procedure appeared unlikely to

bring the matter to a satisfactory decision, it was finally agreed by all parties to submit it to a special Joint High Commission consisting of five Senators, five members of the House of Representatives and five Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. And then, by a majority of one vote, Mr Hayes was finally declared to be the choice of the nation and took office accordingly, as President. His administration was an admirable one. He gave great satisfaction to the Southern States, by withdrawing the troops which, after the War of Secession, had been continued in that part of the country for the forcible maintenance of the Union. He initiated various useful measures, also, in the North and chose able and conciliatory men for his Cabinet. And, in short, he acted out his own favourite motto, that "He who best serves his country, serves his party best." For not only did his administration greatly benefit the United States, as a whole, but it also largely enhanced the reputation and character of the Republican Party. Mr and Mrs Hayes did not offer any wine to their guests during the whole of their stay in Washington. This was the first time that any President of the United States had shown his attachment to the Temperance Cause in so decided a manner.

The "Learned Blacksmith" wrote as follows:—

"16 MONUMENT LANE, BIRMINGHAM,
March 18, 1870

"MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you much for your prompt attention to my application for facts and figures. I now enclose my "Olive Leaf" which has already appeared in the *Cologne Gazette*. It costs me about £1, 10s. but it is a little contribution to the cause I love to make: as it keeps up the memory of our old "Olive Leaf Mission" which was once sustained by 150 Ladies "Olive Leaf Societies" in Great Britain.

"I hope it may also appear in the *Herald of Peace* and that it will prove to its readers that I have not lost my interest in the Peace Cause and that in a small way I shall try and promote it as long as I live. Yours sincerely,

"ELIHU BURRITT"

"WM. TALLACK, Esq."

An application from a prominent Bostonian.

"BOSTON Nov. 17, 1896

"DEAR SIR,—I shall esteem it a great favour if you can kindly send me the last Annual Report of the Howard Association. I suppose it to be the Report of October 1896. And I should also value highly the Reports of 1893, 1894 and 1895.

"I have at present the Report of 1892 which contains matters which I have found of permanent value. Yours Truly,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE."

"WILLIAM TALLACK, Esq.
Secretary of the Howard Association."

During the latter years of the Author's Secretaryship, as also subsequently under his successor, the Committee of the Howard Association made earnest endeavours through the Press and by correspondence and personal influence, to invite the people of the United States to make some effectual efforts for the diminution of those two great evils, the debasing treatment of convicts (mostly negroes) in the Southern Convict Camps and also the cruelties by burning and torture, so often associated with recent Lynchings of negroes. When Mr Booker T. Washington was in London in 1899, the Author called upon him and had subsequent correspondence with him in relation to these matters. The following letter from him has reference to them :—

"14 QUEEN SQUARE, LONDON W.C.,
July 23, 1899

"DEAR MR TALLACK,—I thank you for your letter. The Anti-Lynching Association at Springfield, Illinois, is rather a local affair, but I think is doing some good. I have written to Mr George Dixon (of Ayton) and shall be very glad to get the copy of your book. I return the Atlanta paper which I am glad to have seen. Call upon me for anything I can do. Yours truly,
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON"

A note from Lloyd Garrison.

"LONDON, Oct. 15, 1867

"DEAR AND ESTEEMED FRIEND,—Just off for Birmingham, I have but a moment left to acknowledge the receipt of your kind note, with the excellent little work the "Life of Peter Bedford," accompanying it, for which you will please accept my thanks. Glancing over the pages of the

work, I see that, in a careful perusal of it, I shall derive great pleasure and edification.

"I shall remember the warm grasp of the hand you gave me at the pleasant meeting at Devonshire House ; and reciprocating your kind expressions of regard and offering you my best wishes for your health and happiness, I remain, Your co-labourer in the cause of humanity,

"WM. LLOYD GARRISON

"WM. TALLACK "

The first Secretary of the National Prison Association of the United States was the Rev. Dr E. C. Wines, a most estimable man, who was for many years a regular and most valued correspondent of the Howard Association.

He was accredited by the President of the United States, as an official representative of that country, to invite the chief authorities of the various European nations to promote the periodic assembling of International Congresses for the discussion of questions relating to Prison Discipline and Crime Prevention. And it was largely in consequence of his mission and efforts that the series of important quinquennial gatherings of that nature was commenced, by the holding of the Prison Congress of London, in 1872. That assembly met in the Hall of the Middle Temple and included the representatives of the Governments of the principal countries of the world. Amongst the Englishmen present were the Prince of Wales and the Home Secretary.

Dr Wines was an accomplished scholar and theologian. He was the author of an admirable work on the Pentateuch entitled "Commentaries on the Laws of the Ancient Hebrews," in which he set forth the great practical wisdom and beneficent character of the Mosaic Code, as a whole, and claimed that in several important matters, such as the treatment of the poor, the religious education of youth and kindness to animals, it has never been surpassed, if indeed equalled, even by modern British, American or other legislation.

He wrote a valuable and comprehensive work on "Child Saving"; and his talented son, Dr Frederick H. Wines, was also the author of many important writings on Crime and Statistics.

Dr E. C. Wines combined with Anglo-American energy, a great geniality and a cosmopolitan breadth of view. Above all, he was profoundly a good man, one who, in heart and life, loved and served his Lord. His memory is cherished with honour and esteem on both sides of the Atlantic. The writer greatly appreciated his letters although, in common with most of the correspondence of the Howard Association, they were all ultimately destroyed, except two of the last received from him. The Author loved Dr Wines as a most excellent friend: he was so genial, so hearty, and so kind. On embarking for America when leaving Europe for the last time, he sent, from the steamship, the following characteristic message to the Author:—

"QUEENSTOWN, *March 15, 1878*

"DEAR FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE,—I cannot leave the shores of Europe without sending you a farewell word and leaving with you a prayer, that to you and yours may ever be granted all the blessings of heaven. Sincerely yours,
"E. C. WINES"

And his last letter to the Author, not long before his death, in 1879, commenced thus—"Dear Friend, I have no words wherewith to express my sense of obligation for your great kindness and your excellent paper. It has given me most exact and precious information which I am sure I should have got from no one else. If I have any tact, or merit, it is in knowing how to set the right people to work, or the right subjects, to help me."

After Dr Wines' decease, Mr W. M. F. Round became Secretary of the National Prison Association and rendered it excellent service, both in America and as its representative to European gatherings. He took special interest in

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the reformation of neglected and criminal youth and, in particular, in the cultivation of the land by them. Mr Round's health gave way, after a comparatively short tenure of office and he resigned his position. But he still continued to interest himself and others in various aspects of Penal and Social Reform.

The following was one of his latest letters to the Author :—

“NANTUCKET, MASS.,
Dec 9, 1903

“MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—Thank you for your admirable letter in the *Times*, on Juvenile Offenders and Probation. I trust you receive all data of interest in the progress of such methods in America. If not, I will try and gather you some, though I am somewhat out of “the swim” in these matters.

“I had just had a letter from Judge Wayland (Yale) mentioning you, when yours came and I had also just sent to Mr Bowles, of *The Springfield Republican* your most interesting letter, in the *Times*, on Transcontinental Travel some half a century ago. That Springfield paper—one of our best—is publishing a series of letters and articles on Early Travel in North America.

“Judge Wayland has been very ill: he is still confined to his chair. For myself, I started in for a winter's work, broke down, had an attack of pseudo angina pectoris, was ordered a sea-voyage but came here instead, where I am under bonds of friendly solicitude to spend the winter or perhaps the year.

“I am kept here by the blessedest of ties, the presence of our two mothers; Mrs Round's mother is ninety and my own mother is eighty-six. Was ever a man so blessed?

“I like to think of you all at Clapton—I honour and love you. When my “Systematic Penology” gets into type, you will see that I have not been unappreciative of your work, or you.

"I have just had a delightful letter from General Brinkerhoff who is well.

"Mrs Round joins me in best regards to both and all of you ; and I am always, Sincerely Yours,

"W. M. F. ROUND"

General Roeliff Brinkerhoff was for many years President of the National Prison Association of the United States (in succession to Mr Hayes, Ex-President of the United States). He was a frequent correspondent of the Howard Association and was a familiar and valued visitor to Prison Congresses both in America and Europe. He was an eloquent speaker and thoroughly conversant with matters of Prison Discipline and Criminal Treatment. He took much interest in promoting public improvements of various kinds and was a liberal benefactor to his locality and to the State of Ohio, with whose chief statesmen and authorities he was on terms of friendly intimacy.

In his earlier years he had served in the Army during the Civil War, and at its termination happened to be a witness, in Ford's Theatre, at Washington, of the assassination of President Lincoln.

The following are two of his letters to the Author :—

"MANSFIELD OHIO,
Feb. 1, 1887

"MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—Yours of the 15 ultimo is received and I am very much obliged for the accompanying papers. The Police Supervision Report, however, has not come to hand. I would like to have it ; for we have commenced the system of Parole, in Ohio, with supervision, and can learn much from British experience.

"Now that my dear friend Barwick Baker is gone, I will have to look to you for information upon English methods ; and I hope you will bear me in mind.

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"Just now, we are pressing upon Congress a Bill for the creation of Federal Prisons and will succeed in due time, although not at the present Session, I fear. The President is heartily with us, and I think, at the next Session, our Bill will become a Law, and we will endeavour to make our *national* prisons models for imitation by the several States.

Very sincerely yours,
R. BRINKERHOFF"

"MANSFIELD, OHIO, *November 9, 1903*

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—Yours of October 23rd came duly to hand, but I had just returned from our State Conference of Charities and Corrections and only had time to send you a brief acknowledgment. Our National Prison Congress, at Louisville, Kentucky, lasted a week and was a very interesting meeting; and so, also, was our State Conference which brought together over 200 Delegates.

"I am always glad to hear from you and especially glad to know that you remember me kindly and that you are yet able to do good work in the field you have so long occupied. You and I have been co-labourers a good many years, but, in the order of Nature, we must soon pass away. I was seventy-five years old in June last, but I do not feel any older than I did twenty years ago. I am in perfect health and, thus far, do not detect any of the infirmities of age and hope to be of some service yet, in the betterment of mankind.

"The Ohio State Reformatory (at Mansfield) is the finest prison structure in America; and I am glad to say that its management is on a par with Elmira and Concord; and its Superintendent, Mr James A. Leonard, is a star of the first magnitude. With best wishes for you and yours, I remain, as ever, Faithfully yours,

"R. BRINKERHOFF."

Major R. W. M'Claghry, Governor, or Warden, of
the Federal (or National) Prison, at Fort Leavenworth,

Kansas, was another frequent and much esteemed correspondent of the Howard Association. He was a man of remarkable executive ability and of charming personality.

During a visit to the writer, in 1895, he related some of his military reminiscences. Amongst them he mentioned that at the siege of Vicksburg, in 1863, he commanded a regiment of a thousand men. In July of that year General Grant, then at the head of the Northern army before that city, ordered one hundred rounds of ammunition to be served out for each gun, for a final assault upon the place. Behind the Federal army was a camp of eight thousand negro refugees; and when their leader heard of General Grant's intention, he ordered them to devote the next night to a continuous prayer-meeting, during which that great multitude fell on their faces and prayed earnestly for the success of the Northern arms. In two days Vicksburg was surrendered to Grant.

In the same campaign, Major M'Claghry had for a comrade a Colonel, who, although loyal to the North, was a strong pro-slavery man. One night, his company was encamped beside a long bayou, or lake, when a picket on duty saw something moving through the water and found that it was a negro fugitive from a neighbouring Confederate camp. He begged to be taken to the Colonel and on being admitted to his tent, informed him that the bayou was bounded at both ends by land and that in the morning it was the intention of the Confederates to make an attack on the Federals. On being asked how he knew of this intention, the negro replied—"Because I heard Massa say so. I am the body-servant to the chief officer." On being further questioned, he admitted that his master had treated him kindly. Then, said the Colonel—"What defence have you for thus acting as a traitor to such a master?" The negro replied—"Massa, have you a wife and children?" "Yes," answered the Colonel. "Do you love them?" "Yes." "Well," continued the negro, "I *had* a wife and son: both were sold in the South and I

have never seen them since. I know that if Lincoln gets the victory, we shall be free; and then I shall be able to go and seek my wife and son again. Is not that justifiable?" The Colonel assented and employed the negro to guide his troop against the Confederates, who were defeated. The negro then joined the Federal army. The Colonel became a thorough opponent of slavery and was subsequently a member of the United States Congress and a Republican partisan.

Major M'Claughry also mentioned that President Lincoln appointed a popular Methodist preacher, Bishop Simpson, to organise the "Freedman's Aid Bureau," after the Liberation Proclamation. At one place, the Bishop was introduced to a large audience, by their black pastor, with the grave announcement. "Brethren, this is the great Bishop Simpson, whose voice has rung all over the North, as a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal!"

At one time, Major M'Claughry was the Superintendent of a Reformatory for youths, in Pennsylvania. One of the inmates, about twenty years old, had been so intractable at home that his parents could do nothing with him. And in the Reformatory he was so badly behaved that the Major had to reprimand him repeatedly and put him into a penal class. This infuriated the youth and one day he came stealthily behind the Major and was about to stab him with a knife, when the Major, perceiving his intent, seized him. In his own words—"I felt something had to be done then and there. There were some old brogan boot-soles lying about and I used one of them on him, in the old orthodox Presbyterian fashion. When he was released, he took his meals standing, for a week or ten days. But I never had any more trouble with that young man." After his liberation from the Reformatory, he became a useful member of society and a dutiful son, and he informed his father that he owed his reformation to the Superintendent's castigation.

This matter, however, attracted the attention of some persons, outside the Reformatory, who objected to all

corporal punishment and who raised false charges of cruelty against the Major. These reports were taken up by a sensational press. The Major went to Philadelphia to meet the charges there preferred against him. He said, "I presented myself before the State Board of Charities, which was presided over by a gentleman of the name of Dickinson, a Quaker. I told him what had happened and showed him the brogan-sole I had used, for want of a better appliance. He said, 'Put that in thy pocket: thou hast only administered the punishment my mother gave me: but she didn't give me enough.'"

The Major's letters to the Author were always very welcome. Two of them may be quoted here.

" UNITED STATES PENITENTIARY,
FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS, *Dec. 9, 1899*

"MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—I beg to thank you for your very kind and interesting letter of November 21, also for the very kind expressions it contains and the good wishes you express with regard to a possible visit from our American Delegates, in connection with the International Prison Congress in Brussels next summer. It is not yet decided that I can attend. That question will probably be settled by the action of our Congress this winter; but I hope to be present, and one of the greatest inducements to me is the prospect of meeting again with yourself and Mrs Tallack.

"Perhaps you have forgotten a little fragment of conversation that I had with you at your house in 1895, the subject being the mission of Christ being unfulfilled until He has finally 'destroyed the works of the devil.' Your views on that subject gave me new light that has remained with me ever since. It cleared up a portion of Scripture which had been to me, up to that time, full of mystery; and I never think of you, or of my trip to Europe, that that circumstance does not come fresh to my recollection,

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verifying the truth of the value of 'a word spoken in season.'

"I shall watch with great interest for your paper on the subject of 'Reparation to the Injured, by the Offender.' It is certainly a most interesting topic.

"I note your remark with regard to the Separate and Congregate Systems. I agree with you, in the main, with regard to the advantages of the Separate System, not quite so rigid as you have it in England, but in a modified form. A difficulty arises in its application here by reason of our having in custody a large number of Indians, who cannot live separately, but pine and die with astonishing rapidity if placed where they cannot communicate with each other. So you see, for that class of offenders, we must have the Congregate System, in order to treat them humanely.

"I am glad to advise you that the climate of this locality seems very friendly to me, and my health has improved since I came here. Trusting that this will find yourself and family well, and that we may be spared to meet again, I beg to subscribe myself, Yours sincerely,

"R. W. M'CLAUGHRY"

In a letter some years later, Dec. 10, 1902, the Major wrote :—

"What great changes have taken place since you and I met in 1895 ! Our Spanish War and your South African War. I am glad that Great Britain came out of the war so well ; also that she treated her late foes so magnanimously. She will be all the stronger for so doing, though it cost so much blood and treasure. I cannot help feeling sympathy with General Buller. He was the pioneer and had to learn the methods of Boer warfare by sad experience. Roberts and Kitchener could profit by what he had paid so dearly to learn. I have not much respect for Kruger. He brought on the war by his bull-headedness, and when it was on, left

his countrymen to fight it out as best they could, while he sought a place of safety for himself and his great wealth.

"We are confronted with serious problems in our Philippine possessions, but I think we will work them out satisfactorily. Our young President, Mr Roosevelt, is facing the issues of the day courageously and honestly; and the people, therefore, are supporting him cordially. Public sentiment is a variable thing, sometimes very fickle and changeable; but I believe that, in his case, he will merit and receive unfailing support.

"Prison conditions in this country are gradually improving. We, in this prison, have, in the last few years, taken up the manufacture of high-grade cements; and this material is now largely used in the construction of our best buildings. We use it largely in our new prison. When it is finished, I think it will be the best prison-building in the world. We will use in its construction about fifty millions of bricks, all of which we make on the ground by prison labour. We also quarry and cut with convict labour all the stone used in the foundations, base-courses, etc., and lay all the walls and floors with cement.

"I often think of your trip through this country by stage. Could you visit it now, you would travel over the same route in a Pullman car, luxuriously finished, and take your meals in a dining-car equipped in fine style, and serving all the delicacies of the season. The stage-road that you travelled over still remains, and is pointed out as a land-mark of progress."

Mr Z. R. Brockway, the originator, and for many years the Warden or Governor, of the New York State Reformatory at Elmira, was also a valued correspondent of the Howard Association. He rendered important services to his country by his efforts to reform prisoners, and his methods have received mingled praise and criticism on both sides of the Atlantic. But there can be no doubt of the special efficacy of the general principles of hope, encouragement, and self-interest upon which he largely based his system.

Another feature of the Elmira plan was the adoption of a certain form of "Indeterminate Sentences." But this term, as applied to the actual course pursued there, is rather misleading, inasmuch as sentences of any length, from five to twenty years, have in the great majority of instances, and almost as a mere matter of course, been shortened to eighteen months, or less. The prisoners are divided into three grades, and each man, irrespective of the original length of his sentence, can, by good conduct, obtain at least conditional liberation in a year and a half, or less. A situation is found for each prisoner on discharge. A large portion of the time of the prisoners is occupied in physical drill; and although they have many privileges of advanced education, dietary and general treatment, yet Elmira is not generally regarded as an enviable home by the criminal class. A large proportion of its prisoners are reported to lead respectable lives after their discharge. Mr Scott, an able and experienced successor of Mr Brockway at Elmira, maintained the general spirit of the system of the latter, but without recourse to corporal punishment. Violent newspaper attacks on Mr Brockway, for his application of certain forms of the latter, led to his resignation of office. But the united opinion of the chief American authorities, on Prison Discipline and Social Reform, has continued to honour him as a man who, notwithstanding some mistakes, rendered very special service in the important department to which his life was devoted.

Some doubt has been thrown upon the Elmira statistics of "reformation." It has been stated that at times the prisoners are absolutely "presented" with large numbers of "good marks" which have not been really earned according to the nominal rules. Further, it is said that the statistics enumerating discharged prisoners not subsequently convicted of crime merely relate to committals to the few State Prisons of New York. And the statistics of committals to the numerous county jails in that and other States are either lacking or notoriously defective.

The following is one of Mr Brockway's letters to the Author :—

“ELMIRA, N.Y., *Sept.* 25, 1895

“MY VERY DEAR SIR,—Permit me to acknowledge, with thanks, your recent note. I shall see that our institutionary newspaper, *The Summary*, is regularly forwarded to your address. I have just returned from our National Prison Congress at Denver, Colorado, where I met some of the recent Delegates to the Paris Quinquennial Congress. They are all loud in their expressions of pleasure at their acquaintance with yourself, and of personal regard for you and your work in England. I greatly hope you may find it in your way to visit the Reformatory Prisons of this country, for I feel quite sure your views about such prisons would undergo further modification. I myself should be delighted to receive you here, and I can assure you of a cordial welcome in the other similar institutions in this country.—Most sincerely yours,

“Z. R. BROCKWAY

“MR WM. TALLACK”

In a subsequent letter (November 7, 1903), Mr Brockway, in describing the meeting of the Prison Congress held that year at Louisville, Ky., remarked:—

“The sub-tone was Prevention. This topic occupies more and more of public attention here, and will, we predict, prove to be the standard towards which the national philanthropy of the present century will strive; a fact full of good promise for the public welfare.

“The Reformatory Movement is at present most crude and, speaking generally, very imperfectly administered; but it is soundly based on human nature, so must ultimately triumph. You and I, advanced as we are on our voyage of life, hearing, as younger men do not, the murmur of rippling wavelets on the further shore, may, by retrospect and forecast publicly communicated, more or less foster the movement, thus continuing our influence.”

A specially regular correspondent of the Howard Association was the Rev. W. J. Batt, Chaplain of the Massachusetts State Reformatory at Concord Junction. His communications were numerous and interesting, and as he was the

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editor of a weekly journal, he often published in its columns letters and papers sent to him by the author. The latter also had the pleasure of a visit from him in London, in 1902.¹

Amongst the other American correspondents of the Howard Association were Judge Francis Wayland, Dean of Yale College ; Dr Samuel J. Barrows (formerly Member of the U.S. Congress), Secretary of the U.S. National Prison Association ; Mr M. J. Cassidy ; Rev. J. Milligan ; Mr John J. Lytle ; Mr Josiah W. Leeds ; and Mr William Ingram, of Pennsylvania ; Mr H. H. Hart ; Mr C. E. Felton, and Mr Charles F. Coffin, of Illinois ; Mr Michael Heymann, of Louisiana ; Mr Arthur Macdonald, and Mrs Clarissa O. Keeler, of Washington City ; Mr Goldsbury S. Griffith, of Maryland (the " John Howard of the South ") ; Mr Joseph P. Byers, of Ohio ; Mr C. D. Randall, of Michigan ; and others. All of these were deeply and practically interested in the promotion of Penal and Social Reforms, and were able to communicate much useful information on such matters.

¹ The following are some noteworthy words on prison chaplains, forwarded by Mr Batt :—

" The great difficulty in administering a prison is to get, for officers, men who have great enthusiasm for the *moral* results that can be wrought there. Where the chaplain is needed is with the *officers first*. Religious work that reaches officers, is sure to reach the prisoners. And that is where the chaplain's services ought to be applied first. It is not so much a sermon in the chapel once a week that is wanted in order to reform prisoners, as it is the real gospel of Christ organised into all the things about the prison, from end to end and from top to bottom, every day in the year, and every night."

CHAPTER VII

THE COLONIES, INDIA, AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The Colonies—The Canadian Dominion—Australia and New Zealand—India—Other Colonies—Foreign Nations.

THE Committee of the Howard Association were always desirous to render any service in their power to promote the diminution of crime in other countries, as well as their own. To most parts of the world they were able to contribute some aid in this direction. And they were often gratified by the encouraging acknowledgments of the utility of their assistance, which they received from Foreign and Colonial Authorities.

The Committee felt a special interest in the progress of penal and social reform in the British Colonies. They were particularly gratified by the activity and success, in these directions, of many official and private workers in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

In Canada, the shrewd Scotch element in the population has directed much public attention to the importance of the prevention of crime by the encouragement of Temperance and Education. Repeated applications were received from Canadians for co-operation by the Howard Association. One gentleman in Toronto, Mr Andrew Hamilton, distributed thousands of its publications, and at his decease bequeathed £100 to the Association, in grateful recognition of its services to Canada.

In 1890, the Canadian Government appointed a Commission, with Mr J. W. Langmuir as chairman, to inquire into Prison and Reformatory Systems. The Howard

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Association gladly furnished a supply of books and papers to the Commissioners, at their request. And these were acknowledged by them to have been of much use.

Pleasant recognitions of the aid of the Association were received from two of the Governors-General of Canada, Earl Derby and Earl Aberdeen, and also from the Canadian Prison Society, through its then Secretary, Dr Rosebrugh. The latter wrote in 1899—"We are especially thankful to you for the help you have given us in the matter of the separate confinement of prisoners."

Mr J. J. Kelso, the Government Agent for the care of State Children, Ontario, has also cordially recognised the services of the Association to his own department, in which he has so efficiently laboured.

Many thousands of poor children have been sent, year after year, to Canada from the overcrowded cities of England. And this has been of much service, both to themselves and to the country of their adoption. The Howard Association, however, repeatedly urged, on both sides of the Atlantic, the importance of some preliminary training of such juvenile emigrants, and also some effectual supervision and protection of them after their arrival in Canada. For there had been occasional instances of the gross ill-treatment of young girls emigrated and boarded out, especially in remote localities. But on the whole, excellent results have attended the deportation of the class of children in question.

The Australian Colonies of Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, and South Australia, have also made great efforts to prevent crime and pauperism, by means of the industrial training of poor and neglected children. They have extensively treated these as wards of the State, and have placed them out, in separate homes, amongst farmers and others, where they are frequently visited by appointed agents, both paid and unpaid.

The Committee of the Howard Association and some other persons, such as Miss Florence Davenport Hill and

her sisters, heartily lent their aid, on various occasions, to Australian applicants for information and literature, in connection with this department of effort, as well as in reference to Prison Discipline.

Captain Neitenstein, the efficient Comptroller-General of the Prisons of New South Wales, wrote to the Howard Association, in 1897—"During the long period of my connection with the training-ships in this Colony, much assistance was rendered to me by the various letters, books, and pamphlets you were kind enough to send. Reformatory and Prison workers in this distant land have much to thank you for."

Again, in 1901, he wrote—"In many respects we are advancing in Prison Reform, on the lines advocated by your Association."

Mr C. D. Barber, of Melbourne, an active worker for child-saving, writing to the Howard Association, in 1898, reported—"The Government of Victoria board out *all* their wards. Societies and farmers arrange to take them at ten shillings per week each, as in America." (In England children are boarded out at half this cost.) "When they are fit for service elsewhere they are placed out on some farm and looked after till they are eighteen years of age. The payment stops as soon as the boy is at service." Mr Barber added—"The proportion of parents willing to give up their children to others is growing here." Hence in Australia, as in Great Britain, there is much need for a more stringent enforcement of parental responsibilities.

If a community gives to beggars the option of support without labour, of course they will accept it. And similarly, if the State relieves parents from all cost and responsibility for their children, too many gladly welcome the unwise boon. It is far better, wherever practicable, to encourage or compel parents to care properly for their children, in their own homes, than to furnish positive inducements for the latter being consigned in such large numbers to institutions. Someone has applied the term "institution craze" to the very costly and extensive provision, by the tax-payers,

of this mode of relieving multitudes of unworthy and disreputable parents of their own natural obligations. This "institution craze" prevails greatly in some of the United States, owing largely to the Roman Catholics. They induce the State Authorities in many places to send large numbers of children, at the public cost, to their schools and other institutions, in order to secure their training under exclusively Romanist management.

The Howard Association had many correspondents both in Australia and New Zealand. In Tasmania, also, its communications with such men as Mr James Longmore (subsequently Government Inspector of Charitable Institutions in West Australia) and Mr J. Benson Mather were of interest. New Zealand has taken a noteworthy step in criminal treatment, by adopting the ancient principle of enforced pecuniary restitution for theft, in lieu of imprisonment, at least in regard to Maori offenders. The utilisation of prisoners' labour has also claimed practical attention in that Colony.

During many years, the Association, through its friends in Parliament, caused the attention of the Legislature and of the Government to be specially invited to certain matters connected with the prisons of India. And in that great country, some of the higher officials lent their aid to those efforts and repeatedly acknowledged their utility. Amongst these may be particularly mentioned Dr Mouat, of the Bengal prison administration, and Sir J. W. Tyler, Inspector-General of the Prisons of the North-West Provinces. Both of these gentlemen very successfully promoted an increase of remunerative and reformatory labour in the prisons of their large districts; and the latter of them was a pioneer in the work of introducing arrangements for the aid of discharged prisoners in India. The Howard Committee had reason to entertain a very high opinion, in general, of the services and devotion to duty, both of the civil and military representatives of the British Government in that important dependency.

Owing to several causes, the mortality in the Indian jails was, for years, exceedingly high ; and this was one of the matters to which the Howard Association again and again caused Parliamentary and official attention to be invited. Subsequently a great improvement has taken place in the sanitary conditions of Indian prisons, a result largely aided by such intelligent medical officers as Dr W. J. Buchanan, of Bengal, and others.

The leading newspapers in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Allahabad, often aided the Howard Committee in their Indian efforts. In particular, Mr Henry Beauchamp, of the *Madras Mail*, was a very useful correspondent of the Association for many years. So, likewise, were some of the native representatives of Indian opinion. Mr H. N. Datta, of Calcutta, Honorary Secretary of the Indian Relief Society, wrote, in 1897—"I am happy to observe that your interest in the Indian jails continues unabated. You must have noticed that the rate of mortality in the Bengal jails for the last year is the lowest on record. This is mainly, if not entirely, due to the interest your Association has taken in the question of Prison Reform in India, for which the Indian people owe you a deep debt of gratitude."

The Howard Committee could not claim so much credit in this direction as Mr Datta ascribed to them, although they had certainly made much endeavour to promote reforms in the prison system of India. But there were other strenuous workers, also, in the same direction, amongst whom honour is especially due to Mr Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., and Mr Samuel Smith, M.P. for Flintshire. Both of those gentlemen were, however, in occasional communication with the Howard Association, and the latter was one of its members and supporters.

The Howard Committee were also able occasionally to render some assistance to Penal Reforms in the Colonies of Jamaica, Demerara, the Bermudas, Ceylon, the Straits Settlement, South Africa, and Hong Kong. The Governor of Hong Kong, Sir John Pope Hennessy, on returning to

England, wrote (June 7, 1882)—“Since my arrival in England, I have not had time to call on the Howard Association, but I trust I may be able, in a few days, to express to you, personally, my sense of the valuable services of the Association, in supporting Prison Reforms in Her Majesty’s Empire abroad.”

From another distant Colony, British Guiana, a chaplain wrote—“The prisoners here are presented with the two best antidotes to crime—regular work and instruction, with the rational and practical truths of the Christian religion. Many prisoners have learned to read and write and some acquire a trade.” These few words suggest the essence of much prison reform and crime-prevention.

The mere fact of the existence of such a Society as the Howard Association, and of its being favoured so extensively with access to the Press and to the Government, constituted, in itself, an appreciable aid to prison officials, both at home and in the Colonies, whilst it also afforded, in at least some degree, a check against various abuses.

Applications for information and assistance were often sent to the Howard Association from the Governments, the philanthropists and the jurists of foreign nations; and the Committee were pleased to comply with these requests, as far as they were able to do so. In their turn, also, they sought to derive instruction, both by travel and correspondence, from the experiences of other countries.

The Continental prisons were repeatedly visited, and various Social experiments abroad, such as the Elberfeld Poor Relief System and the Labour Colonies in Holland, were carefully studied on the spot, by the Secretary of the Association.

The quinquennial International Prison Congresses afforded, to some of the Committee and their Secretary, very interesting and much appreciated opportunities of becoming personally acquainted with the chief official administrators of foreign prisons and with other persons extensively engaged in efforts for penal and social reforms. Friendships

of many years' standing were thus begun in some instances.

The limits of a chapter do not permit even a glance at the general aspects and details of these foreign connections of the Association. It must suffice to remark that the Committee and their Secretary cherish very pleasant memories of their French, German, Russian, Austrian, Italian, Dutch, Belgian, Norwegian, Swiss, Spanish, and other friends and correspondents, with whom, for so many years, they maintained the most cordial relations. Even from distant Japan they had many visitors. The Secretary's book on "Penological Principles" was translated into the Japanese language and portions of it into Chinese.

The journals of the chief Continental nations have abundantly acknowledged the assistance repeatedly rendered to those countries by the Howard Association.

CHAPTER VIII

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Society for Abolition of Capital Punishment—A Royal Commission—Mr John Bright, M.P.—Recommendations of the Commissioners—Influence of Public Executions—Difficulties of the Question—A British Precedent—Mr Mill, M.P., and Mr Henley, M.P.—France and the United States—The Law of Homicide—Origin of the Howard Association, 1866—Lord Brougham—An Open Question—The Press—Lord Grimthorpe—Position of the Question of Capital Punishment.

FOR nearly three years before the foundation of the Howard Association, in 1866, the writer was Secretary of the Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, which office he was invited to accept at the end of 1862.

It was a very small Society, which previously had temporarily suspended its operations several times, owing to a lack of support and to other causes. Its Committee included Mr William Ewart, M.P., Mr Charles Gilpin, M.P., Mr Samuel Gurney, M.P., Mr Frederick Hill (formerly H.M. Inspector of Prisons), Mr Alfred Wm. Bennett, M.A., and other gentlemen, with Mr Thomas Beggs as Honorary Secretary.

The writer, as Secretary, held meetings and delivered lectures in various parts of the kingdom, and collected and diffused information on the subject of Homicide and its punishment. At that period, and for some years subsequently, an annual debate on the Capital Penalty was brought on in Parliament by one or other of the friends of the Society just named; and this continued until various changes in Parliamentary procedure rendered it very difficult, if not impossible, for private members of the House of Commons to initiate such discussions, as previously.

As a result of one of those debates, a Royal Commission

on Capital Punishment was appointed in 1864, with the Duke of Richmond as Chairman.

The Commission excited much attention both at home and abroad. Its Secretary was Mr James H. Patteson, a barrister. He was a brother of the saintly Coleridge Patteson, the martyred Bishop of Melanesia, and was a very able and pleasant person. The writer was summoned, on two occasions, to give evidence before the Commissioners, and was at other times brought into association with Mr Patteson, who invited his assistance in various ways. On the conclusion of the labours of the Commissioners, the writer received a letter from Mr Patteson in which he remarked—"I told the Duke of Richmond that you had given me much assistance."

Both Mr Ewart, M.P., and Mr John Bright, M.P., as Commissioners, expressed themselves privately, in very kindly terms of approval, in reference to the writer's evidence before their body. And repeatedly, during many years after that period, Mr Bright, in particular, used to request the writer to furnish him with facts and statistics relating to Capital Punishment, as it was a subject in which he always felt deeply.

In one of the writer's subsequent interviews with Mr Bright, the latter mentioned that he had been told by a French gentleman, at Nantes, that none of his (Mr Bright's) speeches attracted so much attention and interest on the Continent, or at least in France, as those which, on several occasions, both in and out of Parliament, he delivered on the subject of the Punishment of Death. His addresses on general politics were considered, by foreigners, to relate specially to his own country, but those on the Capital Penalty dealt with a matter affecting other nations also.

The Capital Punishment Commissioners finally recommended, in their Report, that, in future, executions should take place in private. And this was carried into effect by an Act of Parliament. Another of their recommendations, that murders should be classified as belonging either to the first or second degree, did not pass into legislation ; but in

practice it appears to have subsequently received considerable recognition by the Home Office in deciding upon the execution, or commutation, of death-sentences.¹

Owing to the frequent difficulties of conviction for murder, arising from real, or feigned insanity, together with the occasional danger of executing innocent persons, and especially in view of the fact that in capital cases, where the utmost certainty of evidence is required, there is often no evidence except that which is indirect and circumstantial (the only surviving witness of the act being, oftentimes, the perpetrator)—in looking at these and similar difficulties, there is much reason to conclude that a severe secondary punishment would furnish more security to society, because of its being attended by fewer obstacles to the conviction of the murderer.

Yet the abolition of Capital Punishment is not so simple or easy a matter as some of its advocates have assumed it to be. The question of an effectual substitute is attended by grave difficulties. For such an alternative as perpetual imprisonment, especially if in solitude, may become merely a slower method of execution and of destroying both body and mind. However, for many years the British Govern-

¹ On the subject of public executions, Mr Bright once remarked to the writer that his esteemed friend Mr William White (a Quaker, who was Mayor of Birmingham in 1883, the 25th anniversary of Mr Bright's first election as M.P. for that city) was educated, at a school near Reading, by a Methodist master, who used to take his pupils to witness the local executions, as "improving" scenes. Mr Bright added, sarcastically, "Perhaps that is the cause that William White is such a good man!"

The actual effect of executions has repeatedly appeared to tend rather to produce than prevent murders. Thus in 1874, when a man was hanged at Usk, in Monmouthshire, the executioner remarked—"I act as hangman as a duty to God and man; for I believe that if Capital Punishment were abolished, society would never be safe." As a practical comment upon this utterance, the next day, at Newport, a few miles distant, in the same county, another murder was committed. Mr Roberts, a former chaplain of Bristol jail, stated that out of 167 prisoners, under sentence of death, visited by him, 164 had witnessed executions. And Dr Lyford, a medical officer at Winchester prison, informed the writer that out of 40 criminals whom he had seen executed, 38 confessed to have seen executions.

ment has been able to deal with nearly half of its condemned murderers without carrying into effect the extreme penalty upon them. And this is a very noteworthy fact.

In those cases, after imprisonment for twenty years, the sentences have come under reconsideration, and it has been found safe to the community to liberate some of the persons whose original capital sentences had been commuted.

Both from British and some foreign experience, it would appear that, on the whole, the peculiar difficulties often attendant upon securing conviction in capital cases would be best obviated by the detention of murderers (but not necessarily in cellular confinement) for about twenty years. This course would, in general, practically deter or incapacitate its subjects from further crime. In many instances the convict would not live to the end of that period, but meanwhile the hope of final liberty would have continued with him as an influence, both beneficial to himself and helpful to his custodians.

Under such a system, the conviction of the guilty would be more certain and the danger of executing innocent persons would almost disappear.

The advocates of the gallows often bring an unfair charge against its opponents, by accusing the latter of sympathy with the criminal rather than with his victim. Whereas it is the death-penalty which has so often caused murderers to escape punishment. The abolition of that penalty would increase the facility of bringing home retribution to murderers.

In 1868, Mr John Stuart Mill, M.P., made a very able speech in defence of the Death Punishment ; but he gave himself away by saying, " When it is impossible to inflict a punishment, or when its infliction becomes a public scandal, the idle threat cannot too soon disappear from the Statute Book." But this supposed improbable state of things largely exists on both sides of the Atlantic. For the statistics of all nations show that a much smaller proportion of convictions for murder are secured where the

capital penalty exists, than is the case with any crimes visited by secondary punishments.

A much respected Conservative statesman, the Right Hon. Joseph Henley, M.P., said, in the House of Commons, in 1869—"When I look at the whole class of crimes from which the punishment of death has been removed, and am unable to find any increase in this class of crimes over murder, for which the punishment has been retained, I cannot bring myself to believe that Capital Punishment has that deterrent effect that some persons believe it has. The opinions of the Judges and of the Police are entitled to the greatest weight; but they do not weigh with me against facts. You have now had before you the facts of more than thirty years; and I do not think that anyone who looks carefully into those facts can maintain that the crimes from which the penalty of death has been removed have thereby increased."

The extreme irregularity and frequent difficulty in carrying into effect capital sentences, in particular, has long been exemplified in France, and especially during the last half of the nineteenth century. Under President Grevy's administration the commutations of death sentences amounted to seventy-six per cent. of the whole!

A friend of the writer, Mr William Jones, at one time Secretary of the Peace Society, informed him that, in a conversation with the Duke d'Aumale, the latter told him that it was with the utmost reluctance that his father, King Louis Philippe, had ever consented to the execution of a criminal. For the King once remarked—"When a man has known his own father guillotined, this tends to make him more considerate for other men sentenced to a similar fate"—in allusion to the execution of "Philip Egalité," Duke of Orleans.

Capital punishment continues in nearly all the United States; yet murders appear to be more numerous there than in any other nation of the world. During the latter years of the nineteenth century, murders and homicides in-

creased there in a ratio three times greater than that of the population. And a terrible aggregate of nearly ten thousand homicides each year has characterised the United States in the early portion of the twentieth century.

After the report of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment was issued, Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Bart., repeatedly invited the attention of Parliament to the need for improving the Law of Homicide. He was not in favour of the total abolition of the Death Penalty, but he was desirous that murder and homicide should be better defined and some further attempt made at classifying cases coming under the head of these crimes. He consulted the writer on various occasions, in reference to these questions; and the debates which Sir John initiated gave opportunities to Sir Joseph W. Pease, Bart., and other Members to advocate, indirectly, if not directly, their own more decided views as to the Laws of Homicide.

Both Sir John Wilmot and Sir Joseph Pease were most excellent and pleasant persons, and the writer formed a very high estimate of them and greatly valued their friendship. When a vacancy in the Secretaryship of the Peace Society occurred, Sir Joseph Pease, who was then the President of that body, wrote to the Author, suggesting to him to apply for the office, as its salary was nearly double that of the Howard Secretariat. But the Author, whilst gratefully appreciating Sir Joseph's kind intention, replied that he preferred to remain with the Howard Association, with which his principal activities and interests had long been connected—although he had also gladly availed himself of many opportunities of serving the cause of International Arbitration and Peace. But the writer could never have rendered such valuable services to the Peace Society as those which subsequently characterised the Secretaryship of Dr Wm. Evans Darby, the accomplished author of that standard work, "International Tribunals."

After the Capital Punishment Commission had finally reported in favour of the retention of the Death Penalty, the

Committee of the Anti-Capital Punishment Society again concluded to suspend active operations and to resume, as during some previous periods, a watching and waiting attitude. But some influential members of that Society advised that it was desirable to continue to collect and diffuse information upon this subject, but in connection with the much larger question of the best methods of dealing with crime in general. The writer complied with this recommendation by inviting the formation of a new Committee for this more comprehensive object, and thus was begun the HOWARD ASSOCIATION, in 1866, having for its general aim—"The promotion of the best methods of the Treatment and Prevention of Crime and Pauperism."

Mr John Bright, M.P., Mr William Ewart, M.P., the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, LL.D., Sir John Bowring, LL.D., Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart., and others became its first supporters, and Lord Brougham consented to head its list of Patrons.

He had previously, in 1864, taken the chair, at an interesting discussion on Capital Punishment, in the Jurisprudence Department of the Social Science Association, held that year at York, in which Mr Charles Neate, M.P. (one of the Royal Commissioners on Capital Punishment), Mr Robert Rawlinson, C.E. (Superintendent of Public Works in Lancashire), and others took part, on the Abolition side, in conjunction with Mr Thomas Beggs and the writer, as representing the Anti-Capital Punishment Society. Mr (afterwards Justice) Fitz-James Stephen, Dr Waddilove and others argued on the opposite side of the question.

When the discussion had terminated, Lord Brougham privately expressed to the writer his own opinion that it had, on the whole, been decidedly favourable to the Abolition cause. This was also the view of Mr Richard Cobden, M.P., who in a letter to the Author (dated Midhurst, 5th October 1864) said—"I quite agree with you that the discussion on Capital Punishment, at the Social Science Meeting, was calculated to promote the object you have in view."

At the next Social Science Congress, in 1865, held at Sheffield, Lord Brougham said in his opening address, as President,—“The Commission on Capital Punishment has now closed its labours, and although the Report is not yet made public, there can be no doubt that a great and useful body of information has been collected with respect to the operation of the law both in this and in foreign countries. We had a most interesting discussion on the subject at York and did full justice to the labours of the Society under Messrs Tallack and Beggs. An able paper of the latter came before us at York, and no doubt that Society has been usefully employed in circulating information on the subject and in promoting the discussion of it.”

After becoming Patron of the Howard Association, Lord Brougham was indirectly the means of greatly extending its influence. For in one of his visits to France, he met with M. Charles Lucas, the “doyen” of the Institute of France, a former Inspector of Prisons, whom he so interested in the work and objects of the Association that, some years later, M. Lucas, in conjunction with others, founded the French Prison Society (“Société Generale des Prisons”), which has since done excellent work for humanity and includes amongst its members many influential men, both in France and other countries.

It was announced in a leading French journal, the *Moniteur Universel*, of June 13, 1877, that—“The labours and example of the English Howard Association have caused the establishment of a similar Society in France,” under the direction of Senator Berenger, M. Charles Lucas, M. Mercier, M. Desportes and others. The Howard Association is proud of this, its fine French offspring.

Lord Brougham’s patronage was greatly appreciated by the Committee of the Howard Association so long as he lived. But he died within two years of the foundation of their Society. Having held the high office of Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, he had been able to secure important ameliorations of the Penal Code, and was in

special sympathy with some of the objects advocated by the Association. The countenance given to it by him materially added to its influence, both at home and abroad.

Many persons in the present generation do not adequately appreciate the vast legal and social services rendered to the nation by Lord Brougham in the days of his official activity. The Reform Act of 1832, Popular Education, the Abolition of Slavery in the British dominions, and other great movements, were immensely indebted to him for his exertions. His learning and ability were marvellous. And if, at times, he manifested some eccentricity of conduct, or temper, he only shared in the universal frailty of humanity. He was generous and considerate.

A skilful engraver named Penstone informed the writer that, in his earlier years, an employer had set him to engrave, on copper, a likeness of Lord Brougham, copied from a painted portrait. It had been ordered by the statesman himself and had been some time in hand. One day Lord Brougham came to inquire the cause of delay. The engraver sent up a message to young Penstone—"Lord Brougham is here, in a towering passion, because his portrait is not delivered. The doorkeeper has denied me to him; so you must come down and do the best you can with him." Mr Penstone at once went down and, finding the visitor very angry, respectfully and quietly explained to him that the process of engraving a large copper-plate required great care; and he drew attention to the many details of the work. Lord Brougham at once became interested, softened down and, looking at the plate, said—"I'm an ugly dog, I know; but, Sir, am I really so ugly as this?" He then asked how much further time would be required before the engraving could be delivered at Brougham Castle. The reply was, "At least two months." Brougham said, "You may keep it for six months, but not a day longer." It was, however, finished in three months.

The writer has seen a letter addressed (August 1, 1830) to a friend, Mr S. Fox, of Falmouth, by Sir Thomas

(afterwards Lord) Denman, an eminent judge, in which he says—"I have long entertained serious doubts whether death ought to be inflicted for any crime whatever." And he added—"I have a letter from Mr Brougham, written at York, expressing astonishment at his own unbounded popularity. Other people will feel it, only, at the exertions he has been able to make, in support of every good principle."

Inasmuch as some of the Committee, Patrons, and supporters of the Howard Association were not favourable to the total abolition of Capital Punishment, the Committee adopted a resolution that the question should be regarded as an "open" one for its members. At the same time, the Secretary was still left at liberty to collect and diffuse information on the subject. But in view of the much greater extent and importance of the general matters which came before the Association, that particular question of Capital Punishment, thenceforward, could only receive a very subordinate share of attention.

The writer, however, continued to be applied to frequently for information on the question by those Members of Parliament who, year after year, brought it forward for debate in the House of Commons, including (besides Mr Bright) Sir Joseph W. Pease, Bart., Mr Charles Gilpin, Mr Henry Richard, and others.

On the occasion of the assembling of the International Prison Congress in London, in 1872, the Howard Association convened a special meeting of the leading Delegates to discuss the question of Capital Punishment. Baron von Holtzendorff, an eminent German jurist, was called to the chair; and interesting speeches were made by Count Sollohub of Russia, Baron von Seydewitz of Germany, Rev. Dr Bellows of the United States, M. van Bemmelen of Holland, Dr Guillaume of Switzerland, and Sir John Bowring and Mr Charles Gilpin, M.P., of Great Britain.

Whilst the Howard Association found great willingness, in general, on the part of the conductors of the Press, to

insert its communications and discuss its objects, there always seemed more hesitation, especially on the part of the London newspapers, to consider the particular topic of Capital Punishment. Lord Sidney G. Osborne ("S. G. O") once said to the writer—"The Editor of the *Times* [Mr Delane] gives me carte-blanche to discuss almost any question in his columns, except Capital Punishment. He will not permit me to write on that topic."

At a subsequent period, in 1891, the author met with an opportunity of discussing that question, at considerable length, in the *Times*. For a brief letter by him, on the execution in America of a man afterwards proved to be innocent, drew forth a letter from Lord Grimthorpe severely attacking the opponents of Capital Punishment in general, and the writer in particular. His Lordship's letters to the Press often constituted an amusing medley of strong personalities and promiscuous digressions. And the part taken by him in this discussion was a thoroughly characteristic one. For about a fortnight, the Editor of the *Times* permitted the two disputants, with some others, to interchange their opinions on the question. And, in a leading article, the Editor remarked—"All our readers will be grateful to Mr William Tallack for having provided Lord Grimthorpe with a "subject, or object," as the latter puts it, for a letter. Lord Grimthorpe's comments on a topic always radiate. They answer to the description of a certain Scotch dish, as having in it a grand amount of miscellaneous feeding."

A Conservative journal of Lord Grimthorpe's own locality (St Albans), the *Hertfordshire Standard*, remarked, on this controversy—"In the *Times* correspondence, upon the subject of Hanging, Lord Grimthorpe comes off second best. Mr Tallack hits out straight from the shoulder, and if occasionally he is a wee bit personal, his Lordship is ten times worse."¹

¹ Some years later, Lord Grimthorpe, having again attacked a correspondent in the *Times* (the Dean of Rochester, Dr Hole), the latter remarked, in his reply—

However, it is due to Lord Grimthorpe to say that if he did not adorn, he at any rate enlivened all that he touched. And his letters were never guilty of what Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford termed "the unpardonable literary sin of ditch-water dulness."

And it is, after all, greatly to his honour that he manifested a splendid public spirit and generosity, by his successful exertions to renovate St Albans Cathedral, and, as he has shown, to preserve it from the absolute collapse which the previous state of the building threatened. It has been stated that he expended upon this object between one and two hundred thousand pounds. Such princely munificence was a certain proof of nobility of character.

Since 1865, some half-dozen Societies for the Abolition of Capital Punishment have, in succession, been formed, or at least announced. But for the most part they have met with very little public support, or attention, in view of the many more pressing matters claiming notice, and also owing, in part, to the few executions, comparatively, which take place, and to the circumstance that, in this country, only the worst class of murderers are now executed, those of whose guilt there can be scarcely any doubt.

At some future day, public and legislative opinion may arrive at the conclusion that, in Great Britain, as in some other nations, the Capital Penalty may be safely and even advantageously set aside, in favour of a punishment involving fewer obstacles to its own effectual operation.

"I regard Lord Grimthorpe with so much grateful admiration, and I am so familiar with the roar of his thunder and the vivid splendour of his lightning, that I cannot feel either anger, or fear, when the explosion resounds and the flash quivers over my own devoted head. His Lordship's letters always remind me of the war-cry of the Indians and the reckless riding of the cow-boys in Colonel Cody's show."

CHAPTER IX

LETTERS ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

From Lord Stanley (Earl Derby) (three)—Right Hon. Dr Stephen Lushington, D.C.L.—Right Hon. Lord Chief Baron Kelly—John Stuart Mill, M.P.—Rev. Charles Kingsley—Professor Francis William Newman—Right Hon. John Bright, M.P. (six)—Lord Romilly—John Ruskin, Esq., D.C.L. (two)—Charles Gilpin, Esq., M.P. (two)—James H. Patteson, Esq. (Secretary, Royal Commission)—James Backhouse, Esq.—William Ewart, Esq., M.P. (two)—Rev. Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne (three).

THE following are some of the letters received by the Author on the particular subject of the Penalty of Death.

“23 ST JAMES SQUARE,
“June 16, 1863

“SIR,—I am ready and willing to consider any representation that may be made on the subject of Capital Punishment. But I do not think that, in the actual state of the public mind, this abolition is possible.

It is a subject to which I have given a good deal of thought at various times, and in which I have always taken an interest. Any publications of your Society which you may send me shall be read and considered. I am certain, however, that no motion for the abolition of Capital Punishment could be carried in the House of Commons.—I remain,
Sir, your obedient servant,

“STANLEY

“W. TALLACK, Esq.”

“23 ST JAMES SQUARE,
“January 26, 1865

“SIR,—I have to thank you for two copies of Mr Moir's book, which I have read. It seems well and carefully done.

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I have also received the pamphlets. Any publications that you may think worth sending shall receive attention.

"I hope and expect that real results will follow from the Commission, though entire Abolition is not likely to be recommended.—I remain, your obedient servant,

"STANLEY

"W. TALLACK, Esq."

"23 ST JAMES SQUARE,
"March 2, 1865

"SIR,—I thank you for your note of yesterday. I shall have pleasure in giving Mr Charles Phillips' 'Vacation Thoughts on Capital Punishment' a place in my library. It is, undoubtedly, of all publications on the subject, that which has attracted the most attention, and is likely to be the longest remembered.—Your obedient servant,

"STANLEY

"W. TALLACK, Esq."

"18 EATON PLACE, BELGRAVE SQUARE, S.W.,
"Feb. 5, 1863

"SIR,—More than fifty years have elapsed since I joined with Mr William Allen, Sir James Mackintosh, and several others, in endeavours to effect a diminution in, and finally the abolition of, Capital Punishment.

My opinions on that subject are unaltered, I should more properly say confirmed, by experience and reflection.

I must decline having my name placed on the Committee, for I could not attend it, and I dislike appearance without reality; nor should I wish to be responsible for the acts of others where I could take no part. But I heartily wish you success. I hope my old friend Peter Bedford is pretty well.
—Faithfully yours,

"S. LUSHINGTON"

"THE CHAUNTRY, IPSWICH,
18 September 1863

"DEAR SIR,—I am much gratified at observing the gradual but steady progress of public opinion towards what

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we believe to be the truth, upon the question of Capital Punishment. I trust that in the next Session of Parliament, though we may still be in the minority, we shall find that we have advanced a long way towards early and complete success.

"I think you may do much good by ascertaining the opinions of the new Members, especially of such as, if with us, will be of effective service in debate, such as Mr J. S. Mill, Mr Fawcett, and others. I shall be glad to know how you go on.—With best wishes, I remain, very truly yours,

"FITZROY KELLY"

"AVIGNON, *Jan.* 10, 1865

"SIR,—Your letter and its enclosures have been forwarded to me here. I am glad of the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the effects of Capital Punishment. I confess, however, that I have a very strong opinion against its total abolition, being persuaded that the liability to it (whatever may be the case with the sight of it) has a greater deterring effect, at a less expense of real suffering, than any other penalty which would be adequate to the worst kind of offences. If examined, therefore, I should not be a witness on the 'right side.'—I am, Sir, yours very faithfully,

"J. S. MILL

"WILLIAM TALLACK, Esq."

"*Feb.* 18, 1863

"SIR,—I fear that any opinions on the questions which you have done me the honour to submit to me are so very different from those expressed in your letter, that they would not further the wishes of your Society.

"Am I to understand from your letter that my friend, the Honourable George Denman, is in favour of the abolition of Capital Punishment? Such a fact is surprising to me.—I am, Sir, yours very truly,

"C. KINGSLEY"

[The Hon. G. Denman, subsequently Mr Justice Denman,

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gave evidence at a later period, before the Royal Commission, in which he decidedly advocated the abolition of the Death Penalty.]

"10 CIRCUS ROAD, N.W.
Nov. 12, 1863

"DEAR SIR,—I fear I shall sink many degrees in your estimation, when I reply that I am not able to approve of the abolition of Capital Punishments. Until crimes of violence vanish, I see nothing better than to conduct executions before a select number of witnesses within prison walls.

"The objections to this or that punishment are, in my mind, like objections to taxes. *Every* punishment is bad ; and so is every tax ; and the objectors to one punishment are generally the same persons who object to another.—I am, dear Sir, respectfully yours, "F. W. NEWMAN "

"ROCHDALE, Feb. 23, 1865

"DEAR FRIEND,—If the Governor and Chaplain of Horsemonger Lane Gaol are sound, and if they are men able to give a reason for the faith that is in them, their evidence will be of importance.

"I don't think Lord Russell would say much if he came. But I am greatly pleased with the paragraph in his preface. Mr Ewart could easily ascertain if he would come before the Commission.

"I am sorry I cannot be at the meetings this week, though it does not much signify ; for cross-examination is not of much use in a question of this nature, which, with our opponents, is far more one of sentiment than of fact.

"The cause of Abolition is going on rapidly over Europe ; and we, stupid as we are in these things, cannot stand still.—Yours sincerely,

"JOHN BRIGHT

"To WM. TALLACK, Esq."

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(Relating to a letter on Capital Punishment, addressed to the author by Senator M. H. Bovee, of Wisconsin, U.S.A.)
The last sentence refers to Mr Bright's joining the Cabinet.

“ROCHDALE, *December 17, 1868*

“DEAR FRIEND, WM. TALLACK,—I have read Mr Bovee's letter with great pleasure and admiration. Would it not be well to ask the Editor of the *Star* to publish it here? Thou might write a few lines to the paper explaining who Mr Bovee is, and what he is doing in his State, and what he hopes to do in other States.

“I think his letter may possibly touch the heart of some professed minister of the Gospel, and possibly of some official, and do some good.

“A private note to the Editor might say that I recommended the letter to be sent to him.

“I thank thee for thy good wishes. I hope what I have done is right, though I found it difficult to believe it so.—
Thy sincere friend,
“JOHN BRIGHT”

“LLANDUDNO, *Nov. 20, 1876*

“DEAR FRIEND, WM. TALLACK,—I should have answered your letter of the 24th ult. long ago, had I known *how* to answer it. The fact is, the House is in a state which makes it impossible to bring on the Capital Punishment question with any hope of good, and therefore I cannot point to any Member as likely to be of service.

“I have always hoped that some time a good lawyer might take up the question, and deal with it in a manner and with a force which has not been found hitherto.

“Just now, with this Parliament and this Government, I do not see how anything can be done, or hoped for. If I could see you, I could give you my opinion about some of the names you mention, though I am unwilling to put in

writing just what I think of them. Unless a man can be backed up by a great, or a considerable party, he must have a position of his own and a force to command at least attention to his question and his treatment of it. This, the question has not had in my time, and I don't know where, even now, to find them.

"I suppose a question of this nature is necessarily pushed out of sight when men's minds are occupied with more startling topics. And just now, when they are discussing the murder of thousands, the killing of half a dozen in a year will not excite much attention. It may require some murders and some hangings of a striking kind to induce the public to care much about the question.

"The adoption of private hanging, too, has done something, I fear, to make it more difficult to procure the abolition of hanging altogether.

"If you see me some time, when I am in town, we can talk this matter over more usefully, perhaps, though I never think of it without a feeling of sadness and almost of despair. I am grieved not to be able to say something less discouraging and more likely to be useful.—Always sincerely yours,
"JOHN BRIGHT"

"ONE ASH, ROCHDALE, *Feb. 7, 1879*

"DEAR FRIEND, W. TALLACK,—I do not send anything to be added to your paper: I think it very good.

"I met a gentleman from Geneva at Mentone two years ago, who told me that crime in Switzerland had increased since the death-penalty was abandoned. I suppose the number of murders there is very small, and that a still smaller addition excited some alarm, especially among those never in favour of abolishing the death-penalty. If four murders had been the ordinary annual number, and that now five had been committed, it would show an increase of 25 per cent., and yet would be only one murder

more on which to demand the restoration of the gallows or the scaffold. If you can get the exact figures, they may be useful in future, as this Swiss case will be brought against us in coming discussions.

"I fear our Foreign Policy—wars on two continents and war hardly escaped in another—will do much to hinder the growth of intelligent and humane opinion on the question of punishments and the sanctity of human life.

"In Leeds we have now a sad sight, a wretched criminal already under sentence of life-imprisonment, tried again for murder, sentenced to death—half a score of policemen and warders watching that he does not destroy himself—and he supposed to be endeavouring to do it, by refusing all food; the newspapers filled with details of the case, and the minds of many persons excited to ideas of violence and revenge, such as it should be the wish of all good men to repress. Always very sincerely yours, "JOHN BRIGHT"

Some years subsequently to the date of the above letter, Dr Guillaume, Director of the Federal Bureau of Statistics at Berne, published a report entitled "Etat Actual de la Question de la Peine de Mort en Suisse" (1886), showing that at the latter period, Capital Punishment remained abolished in sixteen of the Swiss Cantons. In 1883 a popular vote in Zurich recommended its restoration. But in 1885 another similar vote in the same Canton maintained abolition. Swiss experience, in general, is not at all decisive on this question.

"ONE ASH, ROCHDALE,
"January 6, 1884

"DEAR FRIEND,—I have asked my friends of the *Manchester Examiner* to put into a nice pamphlet the two articles on Hanging which recently appeared in their columns under the signature of 'Verax' (by Mr H. Dunckley). They will send me 100 copies, so that I can enclose them to correspondents who write to me for information on this sad subject. It may be well for you to have some for occasional distribution. I think them likely to be useful.

"It has occurred to me that a comparison might be made as to the number of executions which take place in a year

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in the United Kingdom and in the other chief European and Christian nations. I am not sure that we do not put to death as many as, or more than, half a dozen other nations. Can you give me, in a table, any particulars I can make use of; for I shall probably take some early opportunity of alluding in public to this subject? Take Russia, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Portugal, ten countries, and see how many executions take place in the year, in any one year, or in recent years. The list must be confined to ordinary crimes, omitting high treason, such as attempts on the life of the Emperor of Russia or Germany.

"It may be well to give, if possible, a statement of the number of persons convicted of murder in the year in each of the countries named, so that we may compare the relative apparent security of human life in each country.

"I may be mistaken, but it seems to me that murder is not less common with us than in former years; that other crimes have diminished in greater proportion; that we are more barbarous than other Christian nations; and that the facts do not afford us any justification for our barbarity.

"If you can give me any figures in your possession, I shall be glad to have them. It is possible that now, after so many recent hangings and so much that has been especially shocking about them, our careless and often brutal countrymen may be moved to consider a question which I often think of with no little distress.—Always very sincerely yours,

"JOHN BRIGHT

"TO MR WM. TALLACK "

Some comparative statistics, such as those indicated by Mr Bright in the above letter, were procured by the British Government and published in a Parliamentary Paper (moved for by Sir J. W. Pease, Bart., M.P.) in 1881. Subsequently, as previously, similar statistics and information were issued by the Howard Association, in its various papers. But it is impossible to obtain statistics so complete as Mr Bright desired, until the Continental and other nations make their statistical returns more comprehensive and reliable than hitherto.

"ONE ASH, ROCHDALE,
 "January 11, 1884

"DEAR FRIEND,—I have no fixed occasion for dealing with the question; but I should like some facts to use when a good opportunity shall occur. I think our people will be more influenced by the practice of European countries than by that of America.

"If it is not easy to get the figures of the ten countries I mentioned, then, of a portion of them would probably suffice. The point which has especially occurred to me, is to show, if we can show, how much more barbarous we are than other so-called civilised and Christian countries; that we hang as many men in a year as they all, or as several of them together, do; and if the case be so, that convictions for murder with us, are as many as in other equal populations; that, therefore, with us, life is not more secure by reason of our practice of the Death Penalty.

"I cannot judge what can be proved in this direction; but if the contrast is in any degree as I have thought possible, I feel confident that it might be made a very powerful means of influencing opinion in this country, where our punishments are more brutal than with any other professing Christian people.

"'Verax' is very nice in the pamphlet, of which I have received 100 copies. I hope it may be useful.—Always sincerely yours,

"JOHN BRIGHT

"MR WILLIAM TALLACK."

"July 21, 1866
 "14 HYDE PARK TERRACE, W.

"SIR,—I have to thank you for your letter, written for the *Gloucester Journal*, which I read with much interest. It must, I think, do good. I do not understand why it is that the persons who rely on the text in Genesis (ix. 6) do not perceive that, if the text be taken literally, it includes persons who kill others in battle, in self-defence, or by

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accident. And if the passage be not taken in its literal meaning, it means nothing as regards the question of Capital Punishment ; and it would apply to manslaughter, etc., just as much as to murder.—I am, yours truly,

“ ROMILLY

“ WM. TALLACK, Esq.”

“ BROADLANDS, ROMSEY, 25 *October* 1879

“ DEAR MR TALLACK,—Your papers are all ably and temperately drawn up. I have no hope of your ever being of true use, as long as your Society retains the entirely impious trust in its own wishy-washy humanities, instead of believing in God's Prophets in their plain words.—Ever truly yours,

“ J. RUSKIN ”

“ CARE OF ARTHUR SEVERN, Esq., HERNE HILL, S.E.,
“ *October* 29, 1879

“ DEAR MR TALLACK,—Thanks for your courteous letter. You are quite welcome to publish mine from Broadlands, or any other ; and please observe further, that I have not, for thirty years, set pen to paper inadvertently, for an instant.

“ Every syllable I have said, many times over, in Oxford Lectures and elsewhere, and published, after inquiry, on the subject of Capital Punishment, to which sayings I have not the least mind, now, to add a word ; and from which, still less, am I inclined to diminish a word ; being contentedly at one, on all questions concerning Death, with Moses, Homer, and Plato ; and contentedly at issue with a considerable number of (in their own esteem) longer-headed and softer-hearted persons among my contemporaries.

“ Your paper, referred to in your letter, safely received and mostly read, this morning, by candle-light, being very interesting to me.—Ever faithfully yours,

“ J. RUSKIN ”

" 14 MOORGATE STREET, E.C.,
 " London, 12 mo. 14, 1871

" DEAR W. TALLACK,—I had rather a long talk with Bruce (then Home Secretary) on the case of the Leicester murderers. He had not the particulars fully before him and said he was not aware of any Memorial having been yet forwarded on the subject. I afterwards saw Everest (Home Office official), who told me *thine* was the only application as yet received; and he considered it "very well argued."

" Bruce was to see it to-day, and I told him he might expect another Memorial, from Leicester. He said both would be referred to the Judge (Lush), and he would be glad to see me again. Of course I hope to go. Lush *ought* to report mercifully, but how to influence him, I don't know.—Thine truly,
 " C. GILPIN "

" 10 BEDFORD SQUARE, 12 mo. 12, 1873.

" DEAR W. TALLACK,—Thanks for thy note and enclosure. Canst thou readily lay thy hand on a copy of thy 'Digest' of the Report of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment?

" I urged upon Lowe (Home Secretary) this afternoon, to introduce a Bill, in the coming Session, to embody the Resolutions on which the Commissioners were unanimous. He evidently knows little, or nothing, of the Commission; and I promised to send him some information.—Thine truly,
 " CHARLES GILPIN "

" 3 HYDE PARK GATE SOUTH, W.,
 March 26, 1865

" MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—If it is not inconvenient to you, I shall be very much obliged if you could come to Victoria Street to-morrow (Monday) at 3.30, or 4 P.M. I want to discuss certain matters with you, which you will

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know are of a delicate nature ; but from the kindness and assistance you have given me during the inquiry, I feel sure that I may ask you to continue it, on personal grounds.

—Yours very truly,

“ J. H. PATTESON ”

Secretary of the Royal Commission.

“ HOLGATE, YORK, 3 mo. 1, 1865

“ TO WM. TALLACK,—If my power of writing remained much more than is the case, I do not think I could give the information asked for. The many Capital Respites I became acquainted with in the Penal Colonies, were, with few exceptions, retained in Penal Servitude. They therefore had little opportunity of exhibiting, as free men, good citizenship. And of the few exceptions, none, that I remember, had been convicted of crimes now visited with Capital Punishment.

“ But from what I saw, in the Penal Colonies, of the miseries of Penal Servitude, as carried out in the Government Institutions, such as Road and Chain Gangs and Penal Settlements, I think that, except for its eternal consequences, death was preferable to the prisoner.

“ Strong drink lies at the root of most murder cases, and of many of those of robbery and violence. And as the Government, by licensing the sale of strong drink, is party to putting temptation to take it, in the way of those who become so excited by it, I think the Government should regard itself as party to the crimes (and the Nation, through the Government), and therefore the Government should not inflict an irrevocable punishment involving the eternal interests of the culprit.—Thy friend sincerely,

“ JAMES BACKHOUSE ”

“ BROADLEAS, DEVIZES, *Aug.* 15, 1865

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I am obliged by your last letter. I had already noticed your observations in the *Star*, and

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entirely approve of them. The Belgian pamphlet is very interesting. We are all obliged to you for your unwearied efforts.—Believe me, yours truly,

“WM. EWART

“WM. TALLACK, Esq.”

“BRODLEAS, DEVIZES, Dec. 19, 1865

“MY DEAR SIR,—I intended to write sooner and congratulate you on the character and (I hope) the effect of the evidence you gave on Thursday and Friday.

“There is one point which I wish I had elicited in Lord Hobart’s Evidence—the rareness, and therefore the probable inefficacy, of Capital Punishment in Scotland.

“We should provide ourselves with a good witness for Tuscany.—Yours truly,

“WM. EWART

“WM. TALLACK, Esq.”

“DURWESTON, January 8, 1864

“DEAR SIR,—I received the *Social Science Review* last night, on my return home; I will with pleasure read your article. I should be no use as a witness before the Commission—beyond the value, such as it may be—of my own opinion.

“Last March twelvemonth, I defended that poor wretch Preedy, and was present at the trial of Fooks at Dorchester. Both were hung; and two more unfit for sudden death I cannot conceive. Preedy, from a child, had been liable to accessions of fury, which lasted for days. The scene in Court showed me it was epileptiform mania. Fooks was a confirmed hypochondriac. He murdered from jealousy; the other from pure fury at the moment.

“We hung them, and profess to believe in the eternal torture of the damned. We damned them to earthly death.

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What chance is there in a condemned cell for the *change* we are bound to preach? Excuse this scrawl.—Yours truly,

“S. G. OSBORNE”

“PARKSTONE, POOLE, *Sept. 3*

“MY DEAR SIR,—I heard that Lord Coleridge, always a man slow to make up his mind to anything, had sent printed and written matter to the Commission, the tenour of which would seem to be a dread of change, a weak defence of the existing state of things and yet a kind of confession that there must be some alteration.

“I have good hope that we have gained a great deal of ground. The English are slow to move; but of late the increase of murder and the vacillation of the authorities, in the matter of respite, is shaking public confidence in the Penal System.

“I could say no more in any paper than I have said in my evidence and in the paper, to which I referred you, in the *L. Review*. I am afraid I am sceptical as to papers at Congresses being of any real use. John Bull suspects philosophers. Wherever I can see my way to advance the cause, I shall not hesitate.—In haste, yours truly,

“S. G. OSBORNE”

“PARKSTONE, POOLE, *June 12, 1865*

“DEAR SIR,—I have heard nothing lately of the Capital Punishment Commission. From what I gathered a little time ago, from some of the chief members of it, I think we shall have gained a good deal by it.

“I have never doubted but that, ere long, we should have—Private Executions—Very few of them—Murder better defined—Only the most atrocious capitally punished—Infanticide made more truly penal, but taken out of the

category of murder, so far as the liability to the same punishment.

“If we got something like this, I can wait for the rest. It must follow.—Yours truly, “S. G. OSBORNE”

This Commission included the Duke of Richmond (Chairman), Right Hon. Lord Stanley, M.P., Right Hon. Lord O'Hagan, Right Hon. G. Ward Hunt, M.P., Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy, M.P. (Lord Cranbrook), Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, D.C.L., Mr John Bright, M.P., Mr William Ewart, M.P., Mr Charles Neate, M.P., and Mr Waddington.

Thirty-six Witnesses were examined. Of these the following decidedly supported the Capital Penalty:—Lord Cranworth, Lord Wensleydale, Baron Bramwell, Baron Martin, Mr Justice Willes, Right Hon. Sir George Grey, M.P., Right Hon. S. H. Walpole, M.P., Colonel Henderson, Sir J. Fitzjames Stephen, the Governor of Portland Convict Prison, Inspector Tanner, Mr Ivory and the Ordinary of Newgate.

The following as decidedly advocated the abolition of the Death Penalty:—Sir Fitzroy Kelly, M.P., Q.C., Hon. George Denman, Q.C., Lord Hobart, Rev. Lord S. G. Osborne, Right Hon. J. A. Lawson (Attorney General for Ireland), Mr Serjeant Parry, ex-Sheriff Nissen, Professor Leone Levi, the Chaplains of Horsemonger Lane and Bath Gaols, the Governor of Gloucester Gaol, the ex-Governor of Oxford Gaol, Mr Thomas Beggs, Mr William Tallack and two foreign witnesses.

CHAPTER X

CATHOLIC LETTERS AND INTERVIEWS

Catholic Interest in Prisoners—Letters from Cardinal Manning—Biographical Misrepresentations—English Opinion and Catholics—Manning and Pius IX.—Manning and Dr Errington—Manning on Peace and Slavery—Manning and Gladstone—Need for Catholic Reforms—Manning's Colleagues—Manning's Ordinary Life—His Liberality of Opinion—German Catholics—The Incarnation and the Cross—Undue Localisation of God—Manning's Humility—Exclusive *versus* Comprehensive Catholicism—Archbishop Ullathorne—Letters from him—Ullathorne and Australia—Bishop William Willson—Cardinal Vaughan—Zwolle and à Kempis—Conventual Inspection.

THE Author's duties, as Secretary of the Howard Association, repeatedly brought him into communication with some members of the Roman Catholic Church, including, in particular, the two eminent ecclesiastics, Cardinal Manning and Bishop (afterwards Archbishop) Ullathorne. In visiting prisons and other institutions, both at home and abroad, he was also impressed by the special and sympathetic interest in the religious welfare of their inmates manifested by Catholic chaplains and visitors. And in another important direction, he noticed, with admiration, the much greater appreciation of the value of Religious Education, amongst Catholics, than is the case in some, at least, of the Protestant Churches.

In the first of the Quinquennial International Prison Congresses, held in London, in 1872, a prominent part was taken by Archbishop (afterwards Cardinal) Manning. In the course of a speech, at its opening meeting, he referred in favourable terms to a book, by the present writer, entitled, "Defects in the Criminal Administration and Penal Legislation of Great Britain and Ireland, with Remedial Suggestions." That work was specially prepared for circulation

amongst Prison Authorities in England, and also for distribution amongst the attenders of the Congress. It was not "published," in the usual way, but was given a wide gratuitous distribution by the Committee of the Howard Association. Besides its references to prisons in the United Kingdom, it contained an account of observations made by the writer during visits to the cellular prisons of Belgium and Holland. It was subsequently translated into German (with additions by the translator) by Herr Carl F. J. Götting, of Hildesheim (in 1876), a Member of the Prussian Parliament.

A copy of it had come into the hands of Archbishop Manning, and in his speech at the opening of the Congress, he remarked concerning it—"Mr Tallack has rendered a valuable service to the Congress by the preparation of this work." And he referred, in particular, to the following statement in it :—

"In visiting the prisons for women, at Brussels and Antwerp, I found the inmates wholly under the care of religious 'Sisters,' in the proportion of about ten 'Sisters' to one hundred prisoners. In our own country, also, the experiences of Elizabeth Fry, at Newgate, of Sarah Martin, at Yarmouth, and of the Catholic 'Sisters,' at Dublin and elsewhere, have proved that even for the most unmanageable of all criminals—depraved females—the best source of hope consists in their oversight by sympathising, religious women. And, in all cases, it continues to be verified by results, despite the sneers of cynics, or sceptics, that the Gospel is 'the power of God unto salvation,' even to the most hopeless and degraded."

Previously to the Prison Congress, the Archbishop had had some correspondence with the Author; and this was continued, thenceforth, at intervals, during the remainder of his life. Both in interviews and letters, various matters relating to social and religious questions were also freely discussed in this intercommunication. The following, out of other letters, illustrate this :—

"ATHENÆUM CLUB, *Feb.* 17, 1872

"MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—I am very sorry to hear your account of your sick home, and I hope that Mrs Tallack and your boy may be soon better. For your good mother, I suppose the time is ripe : and what can we wish for those we love, but a happier world? Still it is hard to see them suffer. I will not fail to remember you all, at the Altar. May God bless you all. Thanks for your kind words about myself.—Believe me, always yours very faithfully,
"HENRY E., Archbishop of Westminster"

"8 YORK PLACE, *Nov.* 22, 1872

"MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—I have to thank you for two letters : for the kind words in the first, and for the extracts in the second, which are very welcome ; for I have to preach for the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society on Dec. 15.

"The winter is closing in, so that I can hardly expect you to come and renew your questions some evening. But whenever you will come and cross-examine me, I shall be happy to see you. I shall keep your letter, that we may talk of the points you raise.

"I will undertake to show that we realise and apply the Priesthood of Christ, above all men ; and that the fullness of justification by His merits is to be found nowhere as it is in the Catholic faith and Church.

"You know I tell you that we are Quakers more than all men, as to the Interior Life ; and that you are more Catholic than all that are out of the one Faith and Fold.

"With my best regards to Mrs Tallack, and desiring all blessings on you both, believe me, yours faithfully,

"H. E., Archbp. of Westmr."

“ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER,

“Oct. 19, 1873

“MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—Your letters have been constantly before me, and I have been constantly intending to write. Let me thank you for your article on the Incarnation and the character of our Lord. Down to the part about many worlds, I think it beautiful and full of instruction. The glory of the Only Begotten is very great; but only the like-minded can see it; for it is not visible to the eye. I am astonished at the blindness of men, especially men of real intellectual power; and yet the knowledge comes not from flesh and blood.

“I am glad you have thought of the Sacred Heart. Its moral aspect is in close affinity with your mind. The unconscious Socinianism of multitudes is coming out more clearly every day.

“I suppose by this time you are at home again. This week I shall be out of London; but afterwards, at any time, I hope you will come again.—With my best regards to you both, believe me, always very truly yours,

“HENRY E., Archbp. of Westmr.”

“ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, *April 3, 1877*

“MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—On Tuesday next, at 9 o'clock, you would find here all the Catholic Bishops and a very large gathering of men. If you will come, I shall be most glad to see you, and I think you would like to know some of our Bishops.

“With kind regards and all good wishes to you both, believe me, always very truly yours,

“H. E., Card. Archbp.”

“ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER,

“*March 18, 1881*

“MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—I thank you for both of your letters. But I much desire to hear from you the statistics of Infanticide in England and Ireland, referred to in page 3, as against Ireland. It is new to me and, until I see the proof, hardly credible. In this, at least, I thought Ireland safe.—Believe me, always yours very truly,

“H. E., Card. Archbp.”

“ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, S.W.,

“*Feb. 22, 1887*

“MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—Many thanks for your note and the papers. A ‘chauffoir’ was opened, a week ago, in the East of London. How it has worked, I have not yet heard.

“I am a stout disbeliever in the failure of Maine Laws and Scott's Act. I have no doubt of evasions and scandals; but that homes are preserved, and men, women and children are saved, I am as sure as that I have two hands.

“I hope you and Mrs Tallack have escaped this winter cold.—With kind regards to both, believe me, very truly yours,

“HENRY E., C. Archbp.”

“ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, *Feb. 9, 1888*

“MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—A letter in the *Times* of yesterday denies that Poverty causes Crime. Your paper affirms it. Please to send me all you can, for my reply, which I will put in the next *Nineteenth Century*.

“I hope you are both well.—Yours very truly,

“H. E., C. Archbp.”

"ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER,

"Oct. 20, 1890

"MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—It is indeed a long time since we have met, and much has happened since we last talked together.

"I hope you and Mrs Tallack are well. If you are in this direction, you will find me at any hour; for I have not been well and am shut up for the winter, unless very urgent duty should call me out.

"Your walk round Totteridge and Mill Hill is very interesting to me. I only regret that I did not know that you were going. Mr Boulton would have gladly shown you my old home; and we have three beautiful schools and a Missionary College, the doors of which would have opened if you had used my name.

"Yes, there is only One Foundation; and I hope I have never laid any other. In my eighty-third year, I am resting and looking back, waiting for the Master's call.

"There is much to console us. The state of the people and of the world of labour is so forced on the intellect and conscience of England and even of the Continent, that it cannot die out without a large treatment and amelioration. There is a Divine Hand in all this.—With kind regards, believe me, always yours very faithfully,

"HENRY E. CARD. MANNING"

During this epistolary and personal intercourse with the Cardinal, the writer formed a very high estimate of the genuine goodness of his life and character. It is matter for regret that both from Mr Purcell's biography of him and also from some remarks in the "Life of Bishop Wilberforce, of Oxford," inferences have been drawn, tending to some disparagement of that disinterestedness and sincerity of which his acts and career afforded so much proof.

The Archbishop has been accused, by some critics, of an undue ambition. But whilst he was still in the Anglican

Church, he refused the offer of being Sub-Almoner to the Queen, and deliberately turned away from openings which would have soon brought him into the Episcopate.

Again, in quitting the Anglican Church, he sacrificed both social and pecuniary interests. Like John Henry Newman, F. W. Faber, Mr Anderdon, Mr Lockhart and others, he obeyed the voice of conscientious conviction, and made that which was really, and in various ways, a "great renunciation." And herein those good men manifested a high sense of honour. For they did not deem it right to continue to enjoy the emoluments and privileges of the Church of England, if holding the views and practising the rites of the Roman communion.

Shortly after Archbishop Manning became a Cardinal, he remarked, in a letter to the present writer—"God knows that I have no desire for honours. If they come with work, or responsibility, or perhaps danger, they disappear, as they do in battle. In that way, I look at what has come on me. When I knew the will of the Holy Father, I wrote to him and said that I could not decide in such a case, but would obey his decision."

Soon after the receipt of the above letter, the writer called upon the Cardinal, by invitation, and, in conversation, the latter again referred to his new dignity and said that he did not desire it personally, but only valued it as giving further opportunity for religious and public usefulness. He added that three times previously, in his life, he had refused promotion. He also said that, when at Rome, he told the authorities there, that if they received any complaints from England that he was not maintaining the duties, or dignity, of a Cardinal, they must remember his position as the head of a missionary Church, in a non-Catholic country.

At a previous visit, in 1874, the Archbishop told the writer that when Pope Pius IX. gave him the pallium, he said to him—"I am not Gregory the Great, but I have his power"—meaning the power to send an apostle to the English. And indeed Manning was an apostle, in a certain

sense. He effected a great change in English popular feeling, in regard to Catholicism. His thoroughly English temperament, his Oxford training, his geniality and candour, together with his hearty and active participation in philanthropic efforts for the welfare of the working classes and the destitute, both in town and country, won for him the esteem of thousands who had previously been accustomed to view with suspicion, or dread, almost everyone and everything connected with Rome.

Cardinal Newman, however, and others, had also a share in producing this change in popular feeling ; but to Manning it is to be chiefly attributed. The writer once spoke to him of the greater popularity and boldness of the Oxford-trained converts to Catholicism, as contrasted with the comparative timidity and reserve of the old school of ecclesiastics who had been trained in Roman colleges. The Cardinal admitted that converts from the Anglican Church had been specially successful in diffusing Catholic views in England ; but he added that this was partly on the principle of " Set a thief to catch a thief."

The Cardinal has been charged with too much subserviency to Pius IX. But if he believed, as he sincerely did, that the Pope was Christ's Vicar on earth, he was thereby bound to show him special honour. And he was thoroughly outspoken, as to his views of the Papal supremacy. He once said to the writer—" I am a thorough Papist and Ultramontane." But he always cherished good feelings towards the Church and University of his earlier years. He remarked—" I will not help to disestablish the Church of England." And he spoke lovingly and patriotically of his fellow-Englishmen, remarking that, as Protestants, they had been the victims of " the robbery " of their old faith by the Tudors and their advisers.

In 1878, the Cardinal described to the writer his recent long visit to Rome, where he had been in attendance on Pius IX. during all the last weeks of his life. On the last day of that life, the Pope said to him—" Good-bye, dearest

friend ! ” (“ Addio carissimo ”)—and these were his last words to him. About thirty Cardinals and others were around the Pope’s death-bed. His last conscious act was to raise the Crucifix to his lips and kiss it. The Cardinal described Pius IX. as “ a man of prayer,” and said that the best expression of his face was only given in one portrait, and that a cheap one sold in the streets of Rome. He considered that Pius IX. had done much to consolidate the Catholic Church. For during his Pontificate he convoked, at Rome, all the Episcopate five times. On the first occasion only about 250 Bishops came ; but the last time over 700 attended.

Mr Purcell’s work has tended, in particular, to convey a serious misapprehension of Archbishop Manning’s course of action, in regard to his succession to the See of Westminster and to the setting aside of Dr Errington who had been recommended for the Archiepiscopal office.

In the first place, Dr Manning himself had strongly and cordially urged the appointment of his honoured friend Dr Ullathorne for the post. And, secondly, Dr Errington’s friends, and in particular those belonging to the Chapter of Westminster, pressed upon Pius IX. the appointment of their own candidate so importunately, or at least with such emphasis, as almost to appear to restrict the Papal prerogative in the matter. It was also known that Dr Errington’s previous relations with his superior, Cardinal Wiseman, had been by no means cordial. Hence, in order to vindicate and maintain his own rights, as Pontiff, and also to exercise his own judgment on behalf of a long-valued and well-proved friend, Pius IX. conferred the Archbishopric upon Dr Manning. And the English Catholics at once loyally accepted and approved the decision.

In responding to the Cardinal’s invitations, the writer not only brought before him matters relating to Prisons and Crime, but also availed himself of those opportunities of suggesting the exercise of his influence, both at Rome and

in England, on behalf of International Peace and Arbitration and for the abolition of Slavery.

So far as Arbitration and pacific Mediation were concerned, the Cardinal decidedly approved of them, and said that Pius IX. had told him that, on the outbreak of the United States Civil War in 1861, he had written both to President Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, urging peace. And he had appealed, with a similar object, to the Emperor Napoleon III. and the King of Prussia, on the outbreak of the Franco-German War of 1871. But as to any general Disarmament, the Cardinal did not think it practicable. He said that oppression and cruelty, whether by nations, or individuals, must be restrained by authority, which must "not bear the sword in vain." However, he added that the Catholic Church only admitted of defensive wars, and said that she had fostered Peace, as, for example, in the Middle Ages, by insisting on "the Truce of God." The Cardinal was anti-Russian. He feared that if Russia obtained Constantinople, she might make the Greek Church supreme, in opposition to Rome, as already in Poland.

As to Slavery, the writer spoke to him of the horrible cruelties in Eastern and Central Africa, caused by Arab traders kidnapping multitudes of negroes, who were so heavily ironed, so badly fed and so barbarously flogged, that a considerable proportion of them died before reaching the coast; and that even those who survived, at least the male portion of them, had to undergo further misery in being prepared for the service of the seraglios and harems in Turkey and other Mahomedan countries. The Cardinal said—"If you can give me facts, on this subject, I will take care to convey them to the central authority in Rome, to make use of." The writer was able, accordingly, to send him books and papers on the continuing evils of African Slavery.

On one occasion the Cardinal spoke indignantly of the charges of disloyalty brought against Catholics by Mr Gladstone. The Cardinal said that Catholics are very loyal, but

that, just like the Society of Friends, or the Church of England itself, they hold that the claims of secular authority are not to receive unlimited submission, when they may contravene God's laws. He compared the apparent disloyalty of some Catholics, to the action of loyal Quakers, who would resist the State's command to fight.

The Cardinal added that he had long known Mr Gladstone, and that a distinguishing feature of his character was obstinacy, with much temper. He mentioned that a lady had told him that she had recently been at a dinner party where she sat next to Mr Gladstone, to whom she had remarked—"I am loyal, although a Catholic." He replied—"Then you are not logical."¹

The writer once ventured to tell Cardinal Manning that he had been informed, by travellers and others, that the enforced celibacy of the Roman clergy, being contrary to God's physical laws, was found absolutely impracticable by many of them, more particularly in hot climates, such as Mexico and Central and South America, where the keeping

¹ Efforts were made, at various times, to enlist Mr Gladstone's powerful influence in the objects of the Howard Association, matters which, from their social and national importance, were well deserving of the active encouragement of every statesman. But Mr Gladstone scarcely manifested any interest in them. In this connection, one of his chief admirers and most faithful supporters, Mr Samuel Smith, M.P. for Flintshire (Mr Gladstone's own county), records of him in his interesting book, "My Life Work"—"What I may call the individualism of Christianity did not appeal to him. He had little sympathy with Exeter Hall, and was never present, so far as I remember, at its religious anniversaries. He took no part in Lord Shaftesbury's great work, so far as I know. He took little part in Temperance reforms. He belonged to the school of Cobden and of *laissez faire*, rather than that of Social Reform." Mr Gladstone, however, took a real interest in one social movement, namely in Mrs Gladstone's praiseworthy efforts on behalf of tempted and fallen women—an object to which he gave large pecuniary assistance.

Mr Gladstone sometimes sent brief notes, on his characteristic post-cards, to the Secretary of the Howard Association. In one of these he described the Author's book on "Penological Principles" as "a work the importance of which I at once recognise." And in allusion to a letter, in the *Times*, by the Secretary, on the mediæval "Brethren of the Common Life," in Holland, he wrote—"What a glory to the Brethren of the Common Life," if they at once solved a great social problem and produced Thomas à Kempis."

of mistresses is said to be habitually characteristic of many priests. The Cardinal admitted that in those regions there was cause for such allegations, and said that ecclesiastics had occasionally been sent out to reform the offenders, but that the latter had set at defiance, and even in some instances tried to murder, these emissaries from headquarters.

The Cardinal thought that, on the European Continent, the Catholic Church might with advantage endeavour to infuse some new life into the ranks of its priesthood. He said that he repeatedly told the late Archbishop of Paris and others of the French clergy that—"It would be a good thing for the Catholic Church in France, if you had not a centime from the Government." For it was his view that the State grants of money to the Gallican Church led to an undue restraint upon its freedom of action. But in the absence of such assistance, voluntary religious zeal would be elicited and stimulated, as amongst Catholics in Great Britain, Ireland and the United States.

The Cardinal used to speak very highly of his own clergy and colleagues, of his Secretaries and his coadjutor, the Bishop of Amycla, whom he described as "the holiest man I know of." He praised the devotedness of the large number of nuns, in and around London, engaged in teaching girls, and caring for the poor and sick.

He also spoke with special interest of St Joseph's College, Mill Hill, which was established with the object of training missionaries and especially such as are intending to labour amongst the coloured population of the United States. Dr Vaughan, afterwards Bishop of Salford, and subsequently Cardinal, had been laudably instrumental in originating and sustaining that institution. When the first four missionaries came to Baltimore, from St Joseph's, the negroes there were delighted at being exclusively ministered to by them and exclaimed—"Now our own Fathers are come." They willingly contributed to the support of the priests; and a prosperous congregation was soon formed. Previously to

this, the coloured people seldom had the services of a priesthood set apart for their own race.

The Cardinal described a scene which he had just witnessed at St Joseph's College, when some students, then ordained for foreign service, knelt before him, placed their hands in his and solemnly vowed to leave their native land, for Christ's mission work, and never to return to it. At the Cardinal's suggestion, the writer visited that College, where he was very courteously received, and in which he was interested.

Cardinal Manning lived a life of extreme simplicity in his roomy "Archbishop's House," with its rather cold and airy spaces. Being very thin and with little natural heat, he was often to be found very close to his fireside. He was a hard worker. But Pius IX. had told him not to attempt what an ordinary priest could do, in order to spare himself. The Cardinal said he found it a peculiarly trying strain upon his strength to have to consecrate Bishops; for it involved a long night vigil, followed by Mass, and much ceremony; and no food must be taken until all was finished. In October 1879, he wrote to the Author—"In the last two years, I have had the hardest work and the heaviest anxieties I have ever known. This has made me wanting in many things I would have done."

The Cardinal's pleasant and genial intercourse with Protestants was partly the result of his British breadth of mind, and partly owing to his charitable hopes for the ultimate extension of Divine mercy to them, on the ground of their "invincible ignorance" of what Romanists deem the true Faith. A Friend told the writer that the Cardinal once remarked to him—"I believe all you believe—and a great deal more!"

He by no means held the dogma often attributed to Catholics—"Out of the Church, no salvation." For in his book entitled, "The Internal Mission of the Holy Ghost," he remarks—"Two Pontiffs have condemned, as heresy, the following assertions: that the heathen and the Jews and heretics receive no influence from Jesus Christ, but that

their will is without help, that is, without grace—this was condemned as a heresy by Alexander VIII. Again, that there is no grace given outside the Church, was also condemned as heresy by Clement XI. The work, therefore, of the Holy Ghost, even in the order of nature, so to say, that is, outside of the Church of God and of the revealed knowledge of Jesus Christ among the heathen—that working is universal in the soul of every human being; and if they who receive the assistance of the Holy Ghost are faithful in corresponding with it, God, in His unrevealed mercies, will deal with them in ways secret from us.”

And in the introduction to the same book, the Cardinal remarks—“The operations of the Holy Ghost have always pervaded the whole race of men from the beginning; and they are now in full activity even among those who are without the Church; for God, ‘will have all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth.’”

This is a liberal theology quite in accord with the old Quaker maxim that “many who are ignorant of the history of Christ, may be ultimately saved by the mystery of His power and love.”

The writer’s mother was deeply interested in the Cardinal’s book, just quoted from, and read in it repeatedly during the last two months of her life.

A Friend, who spent many years on the Continent, stated that he observed, when in Germany, that the Catholic population seemed to take more interest in Christianity than the Protestants. The writer mentioned this, in a letter to the Cardinal, and added that it was in accordance with his own impression, as to Germany. The Cardinal wrote, in reply—“You and your friend are right. Look at Luther’s work in Germany. The fruits were the Peasants’ War, the Thirty Years’ War, three hundred years of religious conflict and the extinction of faith throughout the north of Germany.” He further wrote, as to Spain—“Spain can only be raised by internal action of the Church in itself. A few good Bishops would set it in motion. But Spain has suffered

from continually recurring Wars of Succession. Nothing demoralises like Civil War."

A special feature of Cardinal Manning's religion was his great love of the Lord Jesus Christ and his profound sense of the preciousness of God's condescension, in and through the Incarnation. The Roman, together with the "High" section of the Anglican Church, attaches peculiar honour and importance to the Incarnation, more so than some Protestant Churches. Catholic religious literature is also characterised by this marked regard to the Deity and Atonement of Christ.

In 1888, the writer received from the Cardinal a letter referring to the then recently published book, "Penological Principles," respecting which he wrote—"What you say, of the Incarnation, is a pledge, to me, of a vital and comprehensive agreement. The Incarnation has renewed the world. The sympathy, Divine and human, of the Son of God made man, is the motive of all the compassion and pity of the Christian world."

The writer, at one period, occasionally visited Catholic churches, and was profoundly impressed by the solemnity and sincerity of the worship. It may be a felt verity there, that, as in many other Christian assemblies, there is a "Real Presence" of God granted to the worshippers. At the same time there may often be a danger of too much localising that Presence to the altar and "Tabernacle," so as to become a means of unduly *limiting* God's presence and Holy Spirit to the altar or the priestly function. Whereas God also and savingly does visit human souls, independently of priest, altar, sacrament, or locality.

Before the writer became personally acquainted with Cardinal Manning, he had heard him preach; and was first induced to do so on the suggestion of a Jew who admired his simplicity of style and his exemplary absence of self-assertion, or affectation. And this, too, was the writer's impression, on listening to his sermons. One felt that a man of God was speaking, who desired to keep himself in

the background and solely to glorify his Divine Lord. This should be a constant endeavour and characteristic of all Christian ministry. A modern writer has remarked that it is a primary maxim, both for the successful fisherman and the effective preacher—"Keep yourself out of sight." This was Cardinal Manning's habit and merit.

He has recorded (*vide* his Life by Purcell, vol. ii. p. 728)—"I have had, all my life, a horror of pulpit oratory. I believe it to be one of the plagues of the Church." And he confessed that his own aim was to make the Lord Jesus Christ "the beginning and the ending, the chief person and main idea of all preaching."

The Cardinal once wrote to the Author—"I can truly say that I never preach a political sermon without reluctance and under the urgent sense that politics are a part of morals, and morals a part of the Gospel. Anti-Christian politics are our immediate danger. 'The religious difficulty' is God. And politicians want to get rid of Him, out of the world which He made and redeemed for Himself."

In a letter to the Cardinal, respecting some of the views of the Society of Friends, the writer had spoken of the Christian Church as comprehending all sincere believers in the Lord Jesus Christ. In reply, the Cardinal wrote—

"You seem not to admit a *Body* to the Church. We believe that the Visible Body of the Word Incarnate, now at the right hand of God, is represented in this world by the Visible Body of those who hold the one Truth as it is in Jesus. The Church is a Witness to the Truth and a Channel of Truth and Grace.

"Two facts are visible. Firstly, that the Catholic Faith is unchanged and the same in all ages and all lands. Secondly, that religious truth, out of the Catholic Church, is shattered, fragmentary, contradictory and perpetually wasting away. The Visible Church is a Divine provision for the perpetuity of Truth. But the Spirit of Truth alone can teach the heart."

With all deference to the good Cardinal's opinion of the

Roman Church, as the supreme witness for Truth on earth, there is something worthy of consideration in the ordinary Protestant view.

Probably all Roman Catholics would claim the Apostles and Evangelists as having been foremost in the membership and guidance of the true Church. But these latter were witnesses for Christ in a *unique* sense, and not to be equalled, as such, by any successors. For they were "eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word" as Incarnate. Christ said to them—"Ye also shall bear witness, *because* ye have been with Me from the beginning" (John xv. 27). And respecting St Paul, the writer of a large proportion of the New Testament, the Lord also declared—"I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee."

The witnessing of these Apostles and Evangelists (with their unapproachable qualifications) *abides*, in the form of the New Testament. Has the Roman Church, either by the Fathers, the Schoolmen, or the Popes or Councils, ever produced anything at all comparable to it, for the edification and service of mankind? Has it not been a special weakness, and source of defect, on her part, that, on the whole, she has given very insufficient prominence to that Biblical testimony, down to the present day? And does not a fair appeal to the great "Chapter of Actualities," afforded by the Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Christendom, show a decided inferiority of action and spirit on the part of the Papacy, as compared with the lives of those Witnesses personally and supremely designated as such by Christ Himself?

Every impartial person is bound to recognise that the services of the Roman Church to the world have been neither small nor few, and that it has contained innumerable saintly men and women, in every class of its ranks. But at the same time, it is quite evident, to the millions of Protestants, that in so far as the Roman Church has been

post-Apostolic, it has always had so much environment, and admixture, of influences open to objection, that it cannot be placed in competition with the New Testament standard of doctrinal purity. It may also be reasonably concluded that a Church really Catholic, or Universal, must necessarily include all those persons who practically endeavour to make that standard their guide and who sincerely seek to honour and obey Christ.

The Cardinal, however, might justly claim for the Roman Church a specially persevering share in the general witnessing for Christ throughout the ages. The magnificent Byzantine cathedral at Westminster, erected since his decease (on a site which he was chiefly instrumental in selecting and in obtaining the purchase money for), strikingly illustrates that continuing witness, by its gigantic crucifix within, and by the conspicuous inscription above its portals outside—"Lord Jesus! King and Redeemer, by Thy blood, save us!"

Dr Ullathorne, Bishop of Birmingham, and subsequently the titular Archbishop of Cabasa, was, at an earlier period of his long life, the Roman Catholic Vicar-General in New South Wales. During many years in that Colony, he ministered to the spiritual needs of those of the convicts who were members of his own Church. His thoughts and observations were thus directed to the subjects of Penal Treatment and Criminal Discipline. During a visit to England, in 1838, he was required to give evidence before Sir William Molesworth's Parliamentary Committee on Transportation; and the statements which he then made, respecting the horrors of that system, especially as it was carried out on Norfolk Island, attracted much public attention. He wrote several books and pamphlets on matters connected with Crime and Prisoners, and was a recognised authority on such subjects. In this connection, he occasionally corresponded with the Secretary of the Howard Association.

The following are letters from the Bishop:—

"BIRMINGHAM, *April 16, 1877*

"DEAR MR TALLACK,—I thank you for the copy of the 'Defects in the Criminal Administration, etc.,' which you have kindly sent me, and which I shall read with interest.

"I beg to offer you a copy of my lecture on 'The Management of Criminals,' to which I have added a Sermon on Drunkenness, written originally in Australia and many times reprinted. I must, however, apologise for their soiled condition. Everything in Birmingham soon suffers from the loaded atmosphere.—I am, your obliged and faithful,

"W. B. ULLATHORNE"

"BIRMINGHAM, *June 11th, 1881*

"DEAR MR TALLACK,—I thank you for the copies of 'Considerations, etc.,' which you have kindly sent me. I am glad to see the moral principles which underlie all human reform so well put out.

"The mechanical, instead of the moral method of managing criminals, is the real difficulty that besets the question. I told poor Captain Maconochie that he would fail through his warders ; and I fear that was his chief difficulty.

"I published, last year, a book entitled, 'The Endowments of Man considered with relation to his Final End,' in which, among other things, I treated fully on the foundations, in truth, of the following themes—Justice and Moral Evil—Evil and the Origin of Evil—Penal Evil, or Punishment. I am sorry I have not a presentation copy left to send you. As I never accept anything but presentation copies of my writings, but give the book to the publishers, I cannot even order you one ; but it might be got from any Library probably.—With best wishes, I remain, dear Mr Tallack, your obliged,

"W. B. ULLATHORNE"

"ST MARY'S COLLEGE, OSCOTT, BIRMINGHAM,
 "October 5, 1887

"DEAR MR TALLACK,—I thank you for sending me a copy of the annual report of the Howard Association. I should have sent you a copy of the article on Bishop Willson, but was waiting until it was printed apart from the *Review*, with a portrait of the Bishop. That I hope to send in a week or two.

"I remember our interview, at the Cardinal's, very well. In addition to other chronic maladies, in my eighty-second year, I have got paralysis of the right side, and have consequently obtained leave to retire from my office, and am only waiting the appointment of my successor.—With sincere respect, I remain, dear Sir, your faithful servant,

"W. B. ULLATHORNE"

"ST MARY'S COLLEGE, OSCOTT, BIRMINGHAM,
 "Dec. 3rd, 1887

"DEAR MR TALLACK,—I send you a copy of the 'Memoir of Bishop Willson,' reprinted from the *Dublin Review*, requesting your acceptance of it.

"In consequence of its publication, the Government Statistician of Tasmania, Mr Johnson, has sent me his official report of the quinquennial period, 1882-1885, showing, among other things, that Tasmania is now the least criminal part of Her Majesty's dominions, in a statistical table. Crime has lowered 70 per cent., he observed, during the last sixteen years. Of serious crimes, there were only, in the year 1885, 4.39 commitments and 2.35 convictions per 10,000 of the population. The population is now upwards of 330,000

"Had I known this in time, I should have added it, as a paragraph, to the Memoir.—I remain, dear Sir, respectfully yours,

"W. B. ULLATHORNE"

“ST MARY’S COLLEGE, OSCOTT, BIRMINGHAM,
“*Sept. 8th*, 1888

“MY DEAR MR TALLACK,—I thank you for your letter and book—‘Penological and Preventive Principles’—and hasten to say that, having been directed to Birmingham, by accident they only reached me last night. I therefore make no delay in acknowledging your kindness and especially the good wishes which you have expressed towards me. I have only, as yet, glanced into the book, but can see that it will be both interesting and instructive; and when I have read it, I will take the liberty of informing you what impression it has made upon me.

“I am extremely glad that you have dwelt upon the importance of a Christian Education, which cannot be too often inculcated, especially with relation to the moral condition of the people. Unhappily, so many Political Leaders are blind to this all-important question.

“I pray God to grant you all blessings, and remain, dear Mr Tallack, your devoted servant in Christ,

“W. B. ULLATHORNE”

Bishop Ullathorne informed the writer that, when in Australia, he had been interested in the religious and philanthropic labours of a minister of the Society of Friends, James Backhouse of York, who, in company with George Washington Walker, spent nearly ten years, from 1831 to 1840, in missionary work in the Southern Hemisphere. They earnestly endeavoured to impress upon the Colonial Authorities the importance of promoting the moral and religious interests of the prisoners undergoing Transportation. They were permitted to visit Norfolk Island and also Macquarrie Harbour in Western Tasmania, two scenes of all manner of horrors, in connection with convict life and treatment. Some of those scenes are graphically and, there is good reason to believe, truly depicted, in the

popular novel, "For the Term of his Natural Life," written by Marcus Clarke, an Australian author.

Speaking of James Backhouse, the Bishop remarked, with a smile, that the good Friend never accorded him any title, but used to address him simply as "William Ullathorne."

The final abandonment of Norfolk Island, as a convict station, was mainly owing to the influence perseveringly brought to bear upon the British Government by Bishop Robert William Willson, the subject of Bishop Ullathorne's biographical sketch, above mentioned. Major Harold, the humane commander of the troops on that island, said to the Bishop, with uplifted hands—"For God's sake, go home and let the British Government know the truth!" And this was done.

"The Life of Bishop Willson" was the last of the many writings published by Bishop Ullathorne. The former had been appointed the first Bishop of Tasmania, by Pope Pius IX., in consequence of a strong recommendation by the latter.

Bishop Willson was one of the saintliest men of the nineteenth century. For many years before going to Tasmania, he resided at Nottingham, where he endeared himself to persons of all denominations by the sweetness of his disposition and the purity of his soul. Amongst others, he was on cordial terms with a benevolent and prosperous Friend, named Samuel Fox, a grocer and a man of much originality. This good Quaker presented eleven acres of land to the town, for a public cemetery. The local Anglican clergy, with a subtlety more sacerdotal than apostolic, persuaded him to allow it to be consecrated by the Archbishop of York. The good-natured Friend consented, and then was astounded and indignant to learn that, by the act of consecration, the cemetery had legally become the exclusive possession of the Church of England, which was already provided with local burial-grounds. Mr Fox applied for advice and help to his Catholic friend Dr Willson; and, by their united efforts, an Act of Parliament was procured

for establishing a cemetery at Nottingham for all denominations. Possibly it was in reference to the latter, that a generous local giver was applied to for a donation in aid of building a wall around it, but declined, alleging as a reason—"Those that are outside do not wish to come in, and they that are inside cannot get out: so what is the use of a wall?"

Bishop Willson was the best helper the Tasmanian convicts had. "Even the worst of them" (as his friend Ullathorne records), who otherwise never used the name of God except profanely, were wont to exclaim—"God bless Bishop Willson!"

Cardinal Manning, Bishop Ullathorne and Bishop Willson were three saintly men, who pre-eminently adorned the ranks of English Catholicism during the Victorian Era.

Cardinal Vaughan, the successor of Cardinal Manning, at Westminster, did not manifest the same amount of interest in Social Reforms which his great predecessor had taken. He did good work, however, at Salford, Manchester and St Joseph's College, and especially by his strenuous and successful labours in the erection of the grand new cathedral at Westminster. In a letter to the writer (dated Salford, August 27, 1888) he said—

"It is a great pleasure to know that we can agree and work together on so many things; as it is a perpetual sadness to reflect that on many, and such vital points, they are not agreed, who have nothing but horror for what is false and evil, when they perceive its existence."

In one of the Author's journeys in Holland, he spent a day at Zwolle, and availed himself of the opportunity of visiting a Roman Catholic church in that town, where the bones of Thomas à Kempis were preserved in a chest. There is good reason to believe in the genuineness of those relics. The writer was permitted to see them, and was much interested in these reminders of the career of an eminent Christian who was not only an author of world-wide repute, but also a special ornament of that admirable

mediæval corporation, the "Brethren of the Common Life," or "Common Lot," two of whose principal establishments were at, or near, Zwolle.

After looking at these relics, the writer had a pleasant chat with the priest in charge. As the latter appeared to know nothing of the Society of Friends, he was informed that *The Tablet*, the chief Roman Catholic newspaper in the United Kingdom, was founded by an ex-Quaker, Frederick Lucas, M.P., who had also written a pamphlet with the object of showing that there was a considerable religious relationship between Romanism and Quakerism, notwithstanding their great diversity on some points. The writer remarked to the priest—"You and we both worship God's Real Presence; but you do it sacramentally and we unsacramentally." He seemed interested and remarked, on parting—"We are not far separated from one another." And, after all, this is just the truth. All sincere Christians, whether Protestant or Catholic, belong to one eternal brotherhood, in so far as they love and serve the same Lord and Saviour.

In 1901, a letter from the Author appeared in the *Times* (of September 6) headed "British Liberty and Conventual Inspection," in which he advocated the periodical visitation of all Convents and Monasteries by official Inspectors. He did not write in any sectarian or hostile spirit, as against Catholics themselves. Indeed he had previously, in another daily Metropolitan journal, described the good work, for the poor and helpless, carried on by the Catholic ladies at the "House of Nazareth" and at the "Convent of the Good Shepherd," at Hammersmith, both of which institutions he then publicly eulogised.

In his letter in the *Times*, on Convents, the writer remarked—"It may freely be conceded that these institutions appear to be usually conducted in accordance with the religious and philanthropic professions of their managers. But, nevertheless, it is opposed to the first principles of British liberty, that it should be possible for any non-criminal

persons to be permanently shut up within establishments, some of which are absolutely closed, by walls and gates, to the voluntary egress of the inmates ; and in which, also, both deaths and interments take place without that degree of cognisance which the law rightly insists upon in all other cases."

The writer urged this matter precisely on the same principle, on which, when giving evidence before the Royal Commission on the Penal Servitude Acts, in 1878, he pleaded for the appointment of unpaid official visitors to the Convict Prisons—a step subsequently recommended by the Commissioners and adopted by the Government.

Prisons, Workhouses, Hospitals, Asylums and Schools are all subject to regular official inspection ; and Convents ought, for the same reasons, to form no exception to the rule. Nor would they, probably, but for the fear of the hostile votes of the Irish Catholic Members of Parliament, entertained by every modern British Administration hitherto.

In a Parliamentary discussion on the subject of Conventual Inspection, Mr John Burns very properly demanded "the protection of the State to everybody, whether Roman Catholic or Jew, Pagan or Free-thinker." But on that occasion, the Home Secretary timidly remarked that he had received many communications stating that conventual inspection "would destroy the discipline which was absolutely necessary." This reference to "discipline," which may mean any punishment, however cruel, constitutes one of the very strongest reasons for inspection. Many prison officials used also to object, similarly, to the visitation of jails, as "interfering with the discipline."

The inspection need not be made offensive ; but it should be established in all cases. A lady told the writer that when, some years ago, there was some expectation of the enactment of a measure for such visitation, the superioress of an Irish convent said to her—"We shall be very pleased to see the gentlemen visitors. It will be something to look forward to with interest." Indeed the authorities of the best

conducted convents, like the officers of the best managed prisons, would be the least likely to object. And some of the Inspectors might, with advantage, be ladies. Human nature being what it is, there is always a possibility of the abuse even of the best systems. And various Continental experiences, in particular, have proved the necessity, in the interests of freedom and humanity, that convents everywhere should not form exceptions to the wholesome rule and practice applicable to other institutions.

The writer may, however, remark that repeatedly he has been profoundly impressed with admiration for the self-denying devotion abundantly shown, by Nuns and other Catholic "Sisters," both in the United Kingdom and on the Continent, in the interests of the poor, the aged, the children and the afflicted, as well as of the criminals placed under their care in some prisons. On one occasion, he expressed to a Catholic lady, at Nazareth House, Hammersmith, his surprise at the very repulsive offices sometimes rendered, by herself and her "sisters," to the poor objects of their care. She replied—"It is only the love of Christ which enables me to do it." She was acting in remembrance of the words—"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren ye have done it unto Me."

CHAPTER XI

PRISONS AND PERSONS

Personal Communication—Devonport Prison (Mr Edwards)—Edinburgh Prison (Major Christie)—Norwich Prison (Mr Dent)—Norwich Philanthropists—Yarmouth and Sarah Martin—Miss F. M. F. Skene, Oxford—Wormwood Scrubbs (Captain Harvey)—Mr Thomas Holmes—Ghent Prison—Copenhagen and Christiania Prisons—Fresnes Prison, France—Luxemburg Prison and Juveniles.

THE Howard Committee and their Secretary attached much importance to personal communications with Prison Officials, Magistrates and the Police, as being practically conversant with the criminal classes. From frequent conversations with them, information and impressions were derived which no amount of mere reading, or documentary study, could furnish. Such interviews also afforded useful opportunities of comparing and checking the many very diverse experiences and opinions which were thus brought under notice.

Conversations with prisoners were at times permitted during the Secretary's visits to prisons, and on such occasions he was able to give them a little advice and express his good wishes for their future course. Discharged prisoners sometimes called upon him, or wrote to him, to complain of their treatment whilst in jail. These complaints were carefully investigated, and, when needful, were brought under the notice of the Home Secretary or the Prison Commissioners. But great caution is always requisite in accepting the statements of criminals, for veracity is not one of their general characteristics.

A few reminiscences may here be given of interviews with Prison Officials and others.

The English Prison Act of 1877 introduced some important improvements into the Prison System, involving the closing of a considerable number of jails. By transferring the control of all the Local Jails from the Magistracy to a Central Commission in London, it facilitated uniformity of administration. In one respect, however, it was not advantageous, for, under the previous system, much more attention was directed to the encouragement of remunerative labour than subsequently. In some jails, such as those of Wakefield, Hull, Bedford, Manchester, Birmingham and other places, especially in Scotland, the earnings of prisoners had been considerable.

One of the most successful of Prison Governors, in training men to useful industry, was Mr James Edwards, at Devonport. The writer visited his prison several times, and had much conversation with him.

Mr Edwards stated that, for years together, no outside mechanics were employed by him. All the work required for the prison was done by its inmates. A new wing was wholly built by them, and it cost exactly half of the sum for which an outside builder had offered to erect it. A somewhat jealous Governor of another prison said—"I am expecting to hear that that wing of Devonport Jail will fall down some fine morning." But the Government Surveyor of Prisons pronounced its workmanship to be superior to the portion of the prison previously built by masons from outside. Mr Edwards also employed his prisoners in work for the Dockyard authorities and others. He mentioned the case of a farm labourer whom he had taught masonry, and who, on his discharge from jail, obtained employment with a builder at six shillings and sixpence a day.

Mr Edwards taught his men to execute the work of carpenters, smiths, plumbers, gas-fitters, gardeners and other useful occupations. The writer remarked to him that the Devonport experience contradicted the statement of a magisterial member of the Howard Association, to the effect that prison-taught labour was apt to result in spoiled

materials and bungled work. Mr Edward replied—"Then it must be where the Governors themselves are bunglers."

Tradesmen who visited Devonport jail used to exclaim—"Why you never mean to tell us that such good work as this was done by prisoners?" And on Mr Edwards asking a competent practical authority, if the prisoners' work showed to disadvantage, as compared with outside labour, the answer was that the latter showed to disadvantage by the side of the former.

Mr Edwards was a humane and sympathetic governor. Under his management the re-committals to Devonport jail were greatly diminished and the value of the prisoners' work equalled more than half of the annual cost of the establishment.

He once remarked to the writer—"I used to wish that God would use me, somehow, in His great field of service; and when I became a prison-governor, I found myself in a position which I could make a virtual pastorate." And he did this.

Another prison officer, of great experience, with whom the writer had much conversation, at various times, was Major Christie, Governor, for many years, of the large and handsome prison on the Calton Hill, Edinburgh. He was a man of much executive ability and active philanthropy. He took a deep interest in the welfare of discharged prisoners, as well as in that of the inmates of his jail. He greatly valued the services of ladies, both as visitors of female prisoners and as helpers of the weak and tempted of their own sex outside of prisons. He said that another wing would have been necessary for the women's portion of his prison, but for the preventive influences of such ladies.

He was more hopeful, than many other prison officials, of the reclamation even of the worst offenders; and he mentioned the case of an Edinburgh woman who had been in jail 139 times, but who was suddenly converted in one night, in her cell, by the Spirit of God, without any

apparent human instrumentality. She immediately discontinued her bad language and drunken habits, and was subsequently employed as a Scripture reader, in Newcastle, where she had been conducting herself respectably for twenty-three years.

Major Christie had a cousin, Mrs Baily (*née* Mary Christie), who was an active prison-visitor and friend of discharged prisoners, for many of whom she obtained situations. She had a fortune of £40,000, but lived a very self-denying life, until her decease at the age of nearly ninety years.

In his earlier life, Major Christie had seen much active service in the army and some of his reminiscences were interesting. He remarked that he had been well acquainted with the Wellesley family and that they were connected with the Wesleys. He said that when the Duke of Wellington was a child, his mother consulted John Wesley about his education. That good man gave the boy a Bible and a copy of Thomas à Kempis, together with a book by Bishop Jeremy Taylor. The Duke used to read these, to the end of his life.

The Major considered the Duke to have been a truly religious man and especially a man of honour. Wellington, when young, became attached to an Irish lady, but at that time her family discouraged the attachment, thinking that his position was not sufficiently promising. He went abroad, on his campaigns, and was absent for some years. Whilst he was away, the lady had an attack of small-pox which materially altered her appearance. Some of Wellington's friends tried to dissuade him from continuing his suit to her, but he replied—"I have promised to marry her." And he did so.

The Major also related that at Strathfieldsaye, a farmer had a piece of land which entered, like a wedge, between the Duke's estate and which he was unwilling to sell. Eventually the farmer's affairs became involved, and the Duke's steward came to his master, one day, announcing—

"I have done a good piece of business for your Grace ; I have got that piece of land for a mere song." "What is its real worth?" inquired the Duke. "£1900," was the answer. "And what is the 'song'?" "£1100." "Then you will give the man a cheque for £800, with my regrets for his trouble," rejoined the Duke.

The Major also mentioned that Bishop Claughton told him that on one occasion he was urged, by some friends of the Duke, to endeavour to ascertain what Wellington's religious views really were. Very reluctantly the Bishop called on the Duke, for this purpose; and the latter summed up his own opinions in the remark—"If a man *acts* on the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles Creed and the Ten Commandments, he is a Christian."

One of the best constructed of modern prisons is that of Norwich. On the occasion of the writer's first visit to it, the Governor was Mr Arthur E. Dent, who had previously been in the army, and had subsequently served as officer in the prisons of Leicester, Liverpool and Hull, before coming to Norwich.

In a conversation, lasting nearly four hours, in various parts of the prison, Mr Dent expressed his thorough approval of the separation of prisoners from each other, a system which he had found to be both deterrent and merciful. He mentioned the case of a debtor who implored him to place him in a cell by himself, out of the way of the common-room, in which he was disgusted at the filthy conversation of a low class of men. (In later years, debtors in English prisons have been thus separated, and with much advantage. This plan has discouraged a number of them, who, although able to pay their creditors, used to prefer a committal to the association-wards as a means of evading their pecuniary obligations.) Mr Dent did not approve of prolonged separation, or of mere solitude. He valued prison visitation, by suitable persons, and also the active employment of prisoners in useful industrial work.

He denounced the unwisdom of some prison officers who

habitually speak to their prisoners in a harsh "bow-wow" style of voice. He described a Governor of that class whom he, "as an old bird," had advised to try a milder mode. In that instance his advice was acted upon, and, added Mr Dent—"Quite a revolution for the better has taken place in that prison."

He did not altogether object to the imprisonment of boys, but considered it to be only admissible when they are kept entirely separate from adult prisoners. That was his own plan at Norwich, and it has been subsequently adopted in other British prisons. In particular, Mr A. G. Western, the Governor, in succession, of the two prisons of Bedford and Borstal, has developed an excellent mode of dealing with juvenile prisoners as a separate class.

Mr Dent mentioned that when he was at Liverpool jail, there was a violent prisoner who had given great trouble to the officers generally. On one occasion he struck a warder and was duly reported for the offence. Mr Dent took time to consider the matter, and then he asked the prisoner, "Were you ever forgiven?" The man replied, "No, sir, everything but that." Mr Dent said, "Well, I am disposed to try that." And he did so, at the same time speaking kindly to the man, and also placing him under the care of a warder whom he requested to treat him "as a younger brother." The prisoner thenceforth behaved admirably and worked well. One of the local magistrates (Mr William Rathbone, M.P.) was much pleased with him, and, after his release, got employment for him as a sailor. He continued to do well; but previously he had been regarded as a hopeless character.

Mr Dent objected to flogging and the lash, except for extreme cases. He had never flogged a prisoner at Norwich. But he regarded birching as useful for both boys and men guilty of indecent assaults on women or children, a class of offence common in the rural districts.

He spoke highly of many of the Police officers, a body of men who have so much in their power, if they will exert it,

for the *prevention* of crime. He said that both in Norwich and Yarmouth, the Police had been able materially to diminish Prostitution. But, on the other hand, he mentioned some cases where policemen had unwarrantably injured discharged prisoners who were doing well. They had informed the employers of these men that they had been in jail.

There is good reason to believe, however, that the chief Police Authorities in general are anxious to protect discharged prisoners.

Mr Dent remarked that, from his own knowledge, the Howard Association had effected much good. He added that magistrates, both at Liverpool and Hull, had said to him—"The Howard Association recommends such and such a course," and he had acted on those suggestions.

The active career of this exemplary prison-governor was prematurely brought to a close by the affliction of deafness. Many a prisoner had cause to remember him gratefully.

Before the new prison at Norwich was built, the old Norman castle, now converted into a museum, was used as the jail and place of execution. It was also the scene of the benevolent labours of the Buxton family and others, including Joseph John Gurney, Mrs Fry and William Forster. Mr Gurney exercised a very beneficial influence also in the Society of Friends by promoting a clearer enunciation, than had hitherto prevailed in it, of the great truths of Christ's Incarnation and Cross. The writer conversed with a venerable Friend in Norfolk, who well remembered all three of the above-named Quakers. He spoke of Mr Gurney as "a princely man," the memory of whose kindness was precious to him. He said that Mrs Fry, with all her goodness, was "a masterful woman," and that her husband, Mr Joseph Fry, once remarked—"My tailor makes my nether garments, but my wife wears them." Of Mr William Forster, it was remembered that he was a lovable man, but very peculiar. He wore large loose garments. One day in Norwich market a butcher, seeing his dress, exclaimed—"Oh my ! if that is his coat, what must his greatcoat be !" He used to study and sit up writing until late at night. This would sometimes affect his health, and then his mode of cure was to sit before a fire with one foot on each hob and continue to sip tea from a little black teapot. He used to say—"I am very weak, but with heat and rest and tea, I can get along." He ultimately died in America, whilst engaged in a missionary and anti-slavery visit.

Mrs William Forster (one of the Buxton family) was, like her husband, very kind to animals. On one occasion she observed a foreigner leading a bear which appeared to be footsore. Pitying the poor animal, she made a bargain with its owner that if he would fasten up the bear in Mr Forster's stable until the evening,

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for a day's rest, the man should receive two shillings and a good dinner. The terms were agreed to ; but alas ! in the evening, when the bear was let out, it was found that he had managed to break away from his fastenings and had killed Mr Forster's favourite pony.

In 1897 the writer, when at Yarmouth, was informed that there were still living in that town two intimate friends of that remarkable and saintly woman, Sarah Martin, who died there in 1843 at the age of fifty-two. He obtained interviews with both of these survivors, and gathered from them various particulars of Miss Martin's life which do not appear in the very brief memoirs of her, hitherto published. One of these survivors was Mrs Emily Palmer, a venerable lady (who died in 1904 at the age of ninety-four) residing in an interesting old house on the South Quay. She related many of her recollections of Miss Martin, whom she described as a little woman of much cheerfulness, having a fund of anecdotes, and being a great favourite with children and animals.

Until her nineteenth year she had felt a positive aversion to religious subjects. She disliked the very sight of a Bible, and hid away two of her deceased mother's Bibles, in order that she might not be disturbed by the sight of them. But about the age of nineteen she heard a sermon on "the terror of the Lord" which deeply affected her. It proved a turning point in her life and led to her conversion. She thenceforward became a diligent reader of the Bible. Mrs Palmer showed the writer Miss Martin's Bible, containing numerous notes in her neat handwriting. She used to read through the sacred volume four times each year.

Miss Martin was by birth a Nonconformist, but was drawn towards the Church of England through her esteem for the character and work of a local clergyman, the Rev. Mr Pigou, who effected great good in Yarmouth. Before his arrival religion was at a very low ebb in that place. But he subdivided his large parish into districts, each with a Secretary and local visitors. These formed an admirable "Charity Organisation Society," and looked after the temporal and spiritual needs of the poor and were able to prevent imposture and the overlapping of relief. It was in some measure an anticipation both of Dr Chalmers' well-known experiment at Glasgow, and also of the still more celebrated Elberfeld System, which has obtained such general and useful adoption in Germany.

Miss Martin gladly took a share in the work of visiting the poor and sick, a work which was subsequently extended to the prisoners in the local jail, or "Toll House," whose inmates were confined in a dark cellar containing some very small cells, or rather cupboards. They were permitted, three times a week, to take exercise in an adjoining cellar, but still wearing their chains.

Miss Martin read the Bible to these unfortunate persons and taught them writing and drawing. Mrs Palmer showed a very well-executed pen-and-ink drawing of the well-known picture of "Satan playing at chess with man for his soul," done under Miss Martin's oversight, by a chimney-sweep during his imprisonment. She used to procure materials for the prisoners to work up into saleable goods, including clothes, caps, bone-spoons, baby-linen, toys, and carvings. Hundreds of pounds worth of these productions were sold for the benefit of prisoners on their discharge. She constituted in herself a "Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society." She would procure for one man, on leaving jail, a pedlar's basket of wares, for another a donkey, and for others various means of livelihood.

She often gave treats to the poor children of Yarmouth, and managed, with small sums of money collected from her friends, to give them welcome meals of coffee, bread and butter, and fruit. Persons of all classes willingly aided her in such objects; for they felt and said that "Miss Martin is a *real* one."

For many years she used to walk daily from her native village of Caistor to Yarmouth and back, but as time went on she felt the exertion too much and therefore made her home in Yarmouth, in the house, No. 4, in Row 57, where she lodged with a Mrs Linder. The house was then a sort of humble club for some half-dozen or more poor women, who used to live and work together, forming a happy family. Whilst gratuitously devoting much of her time to the care of the poor and of prisoners, this excellent woman maintained herself by dressmaking. Her own wants were few and easily supplied. Some of her friends occasionally rendered her a little pecuniary assistance; and during the last few years of her life the authorities of the town, for whose inhabitants she had done so much, made a tardy and very meagre recognition of her services by a small grant of £12 a year.

Often after a hard day's work she would sit up late, cutting out garments for the poor, or preparing lessons for the prisoners. She recorded in her memoranda—"Individual responsibility before God and the Divine commandment 'Love one another,' invest all that lies before every one with the importance of Eternity." It was the thought and power of "the world to come," which, in her case, as in that of all the most earnest Christians, afforded so much impulse and support, in connection with grateful devotion to God for His infinite love in Christ.

Her career was very different from that of either John Howard or Mrs Fry, both of whom obtained the applause of royalty and of "the great world." But Sarah Martin lived, laboured, and died in humble obscurity in a provincial fishing town. It may well be believed that no canonised saint has ever surpassed in genuine Christianity and eminent holiness that lowly Yarmouth heroine.

Since her decease, a memorial window, in her honour, has been placed in the large church of St Nicholas,¹ in the chancel of which edifice she had long been accustomed to teach a class of fifty poor girls.

During several visits to Oxford and its prison, the writer had conversations with Miss Felicia M. F. Skene, a lady

¹ As the writer was coming away from a visit to that church, he was interested in the inscription on a tombstone, outside, in memory of a boy of nine years of age, who, with seventy-eight other persons, was drowned by the collapse of a suspension-bridge at Yarmouth in 1845. It is as follows:—

"Farewell, dear boy! no more I press
Thy form of light and loveliness.
All those who gazed on thy sweet face,
Knew it an angel's dwelling-place.
And if that realm where thou art now
Be filled with beings such as thou,
From sin set free, from sorrow freed,
Then Heaven must be a heaven indeed."

whose life, like that of Mrs Fry and Sarah Martin, was mainly devoted to the reclamation of prisoners and the votaries of vice. Her father was an intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott, and she cherished a remembrance of that eminent man. She resided in a house in New Inn Hall Street, which became a well-known centre of resort for help amongst the poor and erring classes of Oxford.

Her services as a Prison Visitor were highly valued, both by the local officials and by the Prison Commissioners and Inspectors. She stipulated, however, as a condition of rendering that help, that she should be permitted to interview the women without the presence of either warder or chaplain. This was granted.

She made great efforts to induce vagrants to adopt a settled life. On one occasion a poor old beggar woman, of eighty-four years of age, was in Oxford jail. Her life had been spent upon the road and under the hedges in all weathers. After leaving the prison, Miss Skene secured for her a home in a charitable institution, but the aged tramp refused to stay there, saying—"I prefer the road; I mean to go on the road and do as I have always done." In this determination she resembled the generality of tramps and gipsies.

In some cases, however, Miss Skene's efforts were successful in reclaiming offenders of various classes from their previous habits, and she had considerable influence with fallen women. Her services in that connection were invited by the chief authorities of the University, and occasionally by the fathers of students there. Dr Jowett, the Vice-Chancellor, once called upon her for advice in reference to the exercise of the authority vested in the University officers, over the class of immoral women. On leaving her, he said—"I shall regard your advice as an order to be obeyed by me." A visitor of a very different stamp, a lady of the "new woman" class, gave Miss Skene a scolding for, as she deemed it, "interfering" with the liberty of Oxford prostitutes.

Clever as Dr Jowett was, he was very absent-minded at times. Miss Skene mentioned that once he and Dean Stanley were taking tea together and did not discover, until the meal was finished, that it had been forgotten to put any tea with the hot water in the pot.

Miss Skene contributed many articles, on social and prison questions, to *Blackwood's Magazine* and wrote several books on her experiences with criminals, under the nom-de-plume of "F. Scougal."

In a letter in the *Times*, on the visitation of prisoners, the Secretary of the Howard Association, referred to the services of Miss Skene, as a "lonely lady," in that work, at Oxford at that period. By a slight mistake of the printer, the word "lonely" was converted into "lovely." However, on an explanation being made of the cause of this apparent public reference to her personal aspect, Miss Skene was not offended, but took the matter good-humouredly.

The Howard Association has, on many occasions, advocated official encouragement of the visits of judicious ladies to female prisoners. For some time this met with opposition from many Governors and Chaplains, and Miss Skene was then one of the very few ladies whose visits to prisons were permitted. But the Commissioners and other officials increasingly proved the valuable aid rendered, by such ladies, to the administration and success of the prisons. And consequently, of late years, many such visitors have been invited to engage in this work. Some of these have been ladies of high rank, including, for example, the Duchess of Bedford and Lady Battersea.

A prison authority to whose opinions the writer attached much value, was Captain W. Talbot Harvey, who was successively Governor of the prisons of Portsmouth, Millbank and Wormwood Scrubbs. He often spoke on two subjects; firstly, the importance of training the subordinate officers of prisons to cultivate the principle of *justice*, in dealing with those placed under them; and secondly, on

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the exceeding and often hereditary moral weakness of most habitual offenders.

As to the former topic, Captain Harvey himself strictly discouraged harshness, or injustice, on the part of warders, towards his prisoners. And as to the latter, he had abundantly observed that convicts left prison with sincere intentions to lead a better life, but succumbed almost immediately to temptation and so relapsed into crime, from their own utter absence of self-control. He personally assisted many of his prisoners, after their discharge, and with varying results of encouragement and discouragement. He came to Wormwood Scrubbs during the period of its construction and had many special difficulties to encounter there, but he dealt with them in a very able and successful manner.

His opinion, as to the innate weakness of many criminals, was in accord with the experience of another practical authority on the subject, Mr Thomas Holmes, a well-known Police Court Agent, in London, who has had peculiar opportunities of studying the criminal classes. In a letter to the Howard Association, and writing as a member of its Committee, he said—"I am persuaded that the great amount of real crime comes from pathological causes. I see, day after day, and take into my care, numbers of broken wretches, weak physically, weak mentally, weak in every direction, unable to cope with the difficulties of life, so weak that parasites prey upon them.

"I would prefer to have under my charge a hundred wicked, desperate men, rather than fifty of these poor weaklings. With God's good grace, I may exercise a good influence on the strong-minded man. The moment this is done, his environment begins to improve and my labour lightens. But it never lightens with the weakling; and though he may learn to love me, and I may feel that I have an influence with him, he knows, and I know, that as soon as I let him go, back to his misery and what we call his sin, he certainly goes. Pathological and social causes are too powerful."

It is partly in recognition of this frequent weakness of criminals, that some American States have largely adopted the system of employing "Probation Officers," whose duty it is to undertake, authoritatively, the care of offenders, both juveniles and adults, during certain periods of constitutional liberty. They have considerable powers of control and can take charge of the earnings, or wages, of those thus placed under them, and have them put in jail, if they do not comply with the regulations of Probation. On the whole, the plan works well and obviates a large amount of imprisonment; not separating offenders meanwhile from their families, or withdrawing them from the useful discipline of ordinary industrial life amongst free men.

One of the most interesting of the foreign prisons visited by the writer was the large central prison of Ghent, which is one of the oldest in Belgium, but also contains many modern features. He visited it on three occasions, on one of which he was accompanied by Dr Jules Morel, one of the three medical specialists appointed by the Government to superintend the health department of all the prisons in the Kingdom. His courteous aid and explanations were greatly appreciated by the recipient.

Ghent prison consists of eight large octagonal courts, surrounded by buildings. It contains more than a thousand prisoners, some of whom remain in association, whilst others are in cellular separation. One hundred of the worst criminals (murderers and incendiaries) were observed together in one of the octagons. They were dining in a spacious corridor, open towards the court. One prisoner was reading aloud to the others, whilst at their meal.

The writer being desirous of seeing the condition of those prisoners who had been under confinement for the longest periods, six of these were brought forward. One of them, then fifty-three years of age, had been in prison for thirty-three years consecutively, for attempted murder. Although some life-sentenced criminals, in Belgium, as in England, have their sentences reconsidered at the end of twenty years,

this man was still kept in custody. He appeared to be in good health, but he said that he had lost the hope of liberation and often could not sleep at night, owing to his despair. He spoke intelligently and courteously.

Another prisoner, then aged sixty-five years, had been thirty-one years in prison, also for attempted murder. He said that except for the loss of liberty, the prisoners, at Ghent, were, in various respects, better off than many men of their own class outside, having superior food, cleaner surroundings and other advantages. A third prisoner had previously been in isolation, for twenty-two years, in Louvain cellular prison, and said that he preferred that system to the association plan of Ghent, because he had more of freedom in his cell than when amongst a number of other prisoners.

The other two long-term prisoners said that they preferred the Ghent system of association, with the open air of its spacious courts and corridors.

The prison courts had an abundance of flowers growing in them, such as phloxes and zinnias. One octagon was allotted to refractory boys sent thither from reformatory institutions.

In the cellular portion of the prison, the writer had a long conversation with a Frenchman, who had been the editor of a Paris newspaper and was undergoing a sentence for a violation of trust. He had been in Ghent prison more than six years, but was near the end of his term. He said that he preferred the separate system, "because I am my own master here, which I should not be, if I were with other prisoners." But he added that he did not think long cellular separation is adapted for ordinary men, because it tends to weaken the will-power and to destroy that vital energy upon which a man has to depend for success in life.

When in Paris, he had attended an Anthropological Congress, where he had listened to the criminological theories of Lombroso and others and which he regarded as mere assumptions, unsupported by actual facts.

This editor stated that previously to his imprisonment in Belgium, he had been confined, for seven months, in the Paris prison of the Prefecture, in company with two hundred other offenders. Their ranks were being changed almost daily, by arrivals and departures, and, being interested in questions relating to crime, he had availed himself of his opportunities of eliciting the experiences and opinions of some hundreds of these associates.

He said that all of them were more to be pitied than blamed ; for all had come of bad parentage, or had had no training except in evil. All were destitute of belief in God, or future retribution, being both ignorant and indifferent in regard to them. All would refuse invitations to attend a religious service. And, in general, they were without shame or moral sensibility. But this informant had found that criminals, as a class, were more intelligent than others of a similar rank. If ignorant in some respects, they nevertheless have their wits sharpened by their experiences. They desire, like other men, to obtain a living as easily as possible and have in general, been taught to regard theft as no sin. But they all have vanity and if despised by respectable society, they still earnestly desire the admiration of their fellow-criminals, and to be thought fine fellows by *them*. Hence there is, amongst French criminals at least, a general scorn of Capital Punishment, which, in their slang, they term (in reference to the guillotine)—“kissing the white widow.”

From very many fellow-prisoners in Paris, this man learned that Capital Punishment has the *reverse* effect, from that often claimed for it. Criminals regard it as a means of enabling them to pose as martyrs, and as objects of admiration, for their “pluck,” by their own class, whose opinion is that of “Society” to them. As a class, they are indifferent to death. They neither fear it, nor believe in a future state.

The subject of Capital Punishment appeared to be a vexed question in Belgium, both amongst prisoners and their officers. The writer was informed by the Governor of

Bruges prison, that some assassins had told him that they would not have committed murder, if Capital Punishment was carried out in Belgium. On the other hand, the Governor of the great prison of St Gilles (Brussels), and also the Director-General of Belgian Prisons, both stated that the discontinuance of executions, during half a century, had not caused an increase of homicidal crime.

At Ghent prison, the inmates were engaged in such industries as tailoring, carpentry, metal-work, book-binding and other occupations. One man was making a musical instrument. The first-term prisoners are allowed a portion of the value of their labour. Some could thus earn £3 or £4 in a year, which they might either spend in prison, or send to their relatives. Some of the long-term prisoners had been discharged with sums of from £20 to £40 thus earned. The prisoners were well fed and appeared to be healthy. Thirty soldiers (changed every 24 hours) were keeping guard inside the prison.

Some of the writer's most instructive visits to foreign prisons were to those of Copenhagen and Christiania. For the authorities in both cities have given much attention to the important principle that the enforcement of cellular separation should necessarily be accompanied by humane arrangements for an adequate amount of space, air and light. Cells should never be mere dark cages. But it is of special importance to provide roomy and well-lighted cells for prisoners who are kept separate from others by day as well as by night.

In Copenhagen, more than in most other places, praiseworthy care is taken in this respect. The cells visited there by the writer were unusually large and well lighted. Mr Richard Petersen, the excellent governor, for many years, of the chief prison at Christiania, relates that on visiting the Copenhagen prisons, he, also, was greatly impressed with the superiority of the cells there. And on his return to Norway, he promptly enlarged the windows of the cells in his own prison; and he has since repeatedly raised his protest against "caging" prisoners.

There can be little doubt that much disease and mortality in jails has resulted from too small cells, as well as from overcrowded association-rooms. Pulmonary disease, in particular, has often been thus originated. For the chief cause of consumption, in every country, is an insufficient supply of pure air, or the breathing of air already respired.

The construction of adequately large and roomy cells, however, adds greatly to the cost of the Separate System and impedes its extension, in many countries.

The moral dangers which are inseparable from prison association and the injury to health which may easily, though by no means necessarily, attend cellular separation, lead to the conclusion, together with various other causes, that every form of imprisonment is, at best, an evil, or beset with grave difficulties.

Hence it is very desirable to apply other methods of criminal treatment, provided that they are equally compatible with the protection of the community. Amongst such substitutes for imprisonment, may be named, in particular, the infliction of Fines, together with Conditional Liberty and the system of Probation under responsible officers with adequate powers of control. Much progress has of late years, taken place, in regard to an extension of those substitutes for the prison, on both sides of the Atlantic.

Wherever the Separate System is enforced, constant attention should be directed to provide a supply of suitable occupation for both mind and body, together with occasional relaxation. When visiting Louvain cellular prison, the writer observed a large party of citizens who were permitted periodically to give the prisoners a musical entertainment. In Philadelphia cellular prison, the prisoners themselves are, (or were) permitted the use of musical instruments, at certain times.

The last Continental prison visited by the writer (in 1900), was the vast new prison at Fresnes near Paris, containing nearly 2000 cells. One of its chief features is the abundant provision for the entrance of sunshine and air, not

only in the corridors, but also in the cells. The windows in these are of unusual size, for a prison. In fine days, there are streams of sunshine inside the prison, as well as in its courts. Around the buildings were extensive flower-beds in bright blossom. The arrangements for stimulating industry and for the encouragement of the intellectual improvement of the prisoners were good. In some respects, besides its size, Fresnes is the finest prison in the world; and it is most creditable to the French nation. It was, however, rather amusing to observe conspicuously inscribed, on its walls, the words— "*Liberté, Egalité et Fraternité!*"

The writer derived special gratification from a visit to Luxemburg, that picturesque city whose massive fortifications and lofty viaducts, high above the "lower town," give it such a striking aspect.

The prison for men is nearly 200 feet below the level of other portions of the city, and was partly on the cellular and partly on the congregate system. The intelligent and courteous Governor (M. J. P. Brück Faber), stated that in his opinion, prisoners should be dealt with, as to separation or otherwise, according to their individual circumstances. He received many requests from prisoners to be kept apart from others. But he did not approve of very long isolation for any. He was accustomed to determine, in each case, according to individual requirements.

He remarked that, of the two classes of offenders, the casual and the habitual, the former were to be treated with kindly consideration, but that the latter should be prevented, as far as possible, from continuing to prey upon the community.

Whilst recognising the value of the Separate System, in preventing a prisoner from getting *worse*, yet he had found that long isolation does not give him self-control, or try his temper with others. And for some prisoners, mutual association is not corrupting, especially in the case of many casual offenders who are no worse than other men, and may even be better than many persons at liberty. But by all

means, he would separate the worse class of criminals from others.

In connection with the latter, the question of Capital Punishment was discussed. The Governor said that no execution had taken place in Luxemburg since 1821. He did not think that this long practical abolition of the infliction of death had produced any material effect either in the diminution, or the increase, of murders. For there were two classes of murderers, those committing the crime under the influence of passion, who, at the moment of impulse, do not think of penalty, and secondly, the deliberate murderers, who calculate the chances of escape, and are also resolute and daring.

He thought little dependence was to be placed on criminal statistics, in general.

The Governor also conducted the writer over an adjacent House of Correction, or Reformatory, for boys. They were being taught by a priest and a schoolmaster, but were under the general management of several Catholic "Sisters," or middle-aged nuns. The lads were instructed in carpentry and other handicrafts, such as tailoring. About sixty slept in a large common dormitory; a "Sister's" bedroom had a window looking into it, for supervision. Silence was insisted on, in the dormitory.

All the boys were required to pray, on going to bed and at other times. Crucifixes and religious pictures were placed around the walls. Excellent order was maintained and a kind and wise spirit prevailed throughout.

The Luxemburg system of treating juvenile offenders and neglected youth is admirable, and is considerably superior to the methods adopted in most other nations.

In Luxemburg, these young people, on becoming "wards of the State," *remain* such, until twenty-one years of age, and may not be sent back again to the mischievous influence of relations who had neglected their own duty to them.

The youths are mostly "boarded out," or apprenticed,

but they still continue under State control, and with a careful and regular official inspection. Many of them are thus more fortunate than other children of the same rank in life ; for their industrial training and moral oversight are better secured. These State wards have a good reputation, both for conduct and ability, and are sought after by foster-parents and employers.

This excellent method adopted by Luxemburg, closely resembles the plan which has long prevailed in the American State of Michigan, where the results have been far more successful than those of the less intelligent methods adopted in some other States of the Union.

CHAPTER XII

JOHN BRIGHT

Interviews with Mr Bright—Mr Bright on "Women's Rights"—His first visit to London—Mr Jacob Bright (the elder)—Incidents—Mr Bright as a "Friend."

MR BRIGHT had much conversation with the writer, on general topics, on the various occasions when he invited the latter to bring him facts and statistics relating to Capital Punishment, a question on which he felt deeply and on which he repeatedly spoke, both in the House of Commons and elsewhere. Some of his observations on other matters, during these interviews, may be of interest to the reader.

Recurring to his share in the great national agitation for the Abolition of the Corn Laws, Mr Bright said that he accompanied one particular Deputation of Free Traders to see Sir Robert Peel when Prime Minister, and that their object at that time, was not so much to hear what the Minister would say, as to let him know what the Deputation wished him to hear. Mr Bright remarked—"Sir Robert was sitting on a sofa. We made twelve speeches *at* him, and so impressively that he trembled like an aspen-leaf, and presently his nose began to bleed and he had to leave the room a while. That was a Deputation to some purpose." And indeed, it is probable that it had its due share in influencing the great Minister to take the decisive step of urging Corn Law Abolition.

Mr Bright, in speaking of his term of office as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, used the expression "that miserable Chancellorship," and told the writer that hundreds of letters, asking for church-livings, began to pour in upon

him, even before his formal appointment to the office. He gave only two livings, one to a poor, hard-working clergyman whom a Dissenter had praised, in a letter to a newspaper, and the other to a friend of the Buxton family, for a living which they augmented. Mr Gladstone had offered to relieve Mr Bright of the gift of livings, by getting someone else to attend to it, but the latter said he preferred to keep the livings in his own hands, so long as he had the right of disposal. Amongst others, the Bishop of Exeter wrote to him for a living for a clergyman whom the moist air of his diocese did not suit. Mr Bright replied that the Bishop probably had thirty, or more, livings in his gift, for every one at the Chancellor's disposal, and therefore suggested that he might still be able to arrange for one suitable for the case.

On one occasion, Mr Bright rebuked the writer for speaking too appreciatively of the Church of England. The former had remarked that that Church had the merit of doing much good work both in town and country and especially in Lancashire. Upon this, Mr Bright said—"The Church of England, as a Church, has no merits, though individual clergymen have merits." In reference to some churches then recently built in Lancashire, he observed—"All that is a political work. Every church so built is made a centre of Toryism." He added that matters were worse in country districts and there were then (in 1878) two thousand places in England where Dissenters could not get a plot of ground to build a chapel on, because the Parson and the Squire acted together. And he remarked—"They are Siamese Twins." Mr Bright considered that if the Church of England was disestablished, there would be more religious life in the country. He thought that High Churchmen did more good than other Anglicans. As to Roman Catholicism, he said—"I have been to Rome; and it is as pagan now as two thousand years ago." And as to Mahomedanism, he mentioned that the poet Tennyson had told him that he considered Islam a good religion.

On another occasion, the writer observed, on Mr Bright's table, a pamphlet on Women's Suffrage and made some remark upon it. Mr Bright replied—"The best women do not care for that sort of thing"; and on some surprise being expressed that he should speak thus, inasmuch as several of his own lady relatives were known to be advocates of the movement, Mr Bright smilingly exclaimed—"Silly girls!"

Queen Victoria is stated to have been of the same opinion as Mr Bright, on this question. The Society of Friends, to which he belonged, has permitted women to preach. Yet even in that body, those whom Mr Bright termed "the best women," do not manifest an inclination, as a class, to assume public, or prominent positions, but content themselves, as wives, mothers and sisters, with the exercise of home duties and sympathies, in the training of children and in the help of the poor and the afflicted.

An intimate friend of Mr Bright, in his earlier years, informed the writer that he accompanied him on his first visit to the Metropolis, where the first place he wished to see was the House of Commons. Accordingly the two went there and procured admission to the Strangers' Gallery. The future statesman listened to the proceedings with the deepest interest; and it was a curious circumstance that one of the speakers, on that occasion, was Daniel O'Connell, the great Irish "Agitator," who in allusion to the needs of the poor, said to the Ministers—"You are bound to give the people cheap food!" This was an exclamation which, in after years, must have recurred to Mr Bright's memory again and again. On the second day of that visit to London, his companion asked him—"Where shall we go this evening?" The reply was—"To the House of Commons again." And still a third visit was made to the same place before the two returned to Rochdale.

As a young man, Mr Bright was a dutiful son and a diligent attender to business, but his father, colloquially spoken of, locally, as "old Jacob Bright" (to distinguish him from his son, Mr Jacob Bright, M.P.), thought, in

common with the Quakers of that period, that young men should not intrude their opinions upon their elders. And a Lancashire Friend informed the writer that when, on one occasion, in a Church meeting of the Society, a certain question was being discussed, young John rose and gave his own view of the subject, his father stood up and remarked—"Friends, don't pay attention to what my son says, for he knows nothing about the matter." Very different was the reception given to Mr Bright in later years, by his fellow members of the Society, as well as by the public everywhere.

With all his virtues, too, Mr Bright inherited something of his worthy father's brusqueness. One of his principal friends told the writer that, on one occasion, a Birmingham constituent came to ask Mr Bright's intervention in a family quarrel and received the reply—"You should have remembered the old proverb—'Curse your relations and stick to your friends!'" And Cardinal Manning informed the Author that Mr Bright, in describing to himself, his visit to a church in Rome, when Manning was preaching there, remarked—"I was interested in it all, except in what you said!"

Mr Bright, being a speaker with a beautifully clear enunciation, greatly disliked indistinctness in others. On one occasion, listening to the reading of the pupils, in a Friends' School, he took hold of one of the boys, by the shoulders, and almost shouted to him—"Open thy jaws!" prolonging the last word to several times its usual length. In previous years, when he was himself a pupil at the same school, one of the teachers, in a fit of anger, threw a book at John Bright's head. The latter coolly handed it back, with the remark—"Thou may find another use for that book!"

Mr Bright was a specially valued correspondent and patron of the Howard Association. In an address to the Annual Meeting of the Society of Friends, in 1873, on the subject of general philanthropic effort for social reforms,

he was pleased to make a particular commendation of the work of that Association, in the objects and operation of which, he stated that he had long taken a deep interest.

The last time Mr Bright invited the writer to call upon him was to meet him at the Reform Club. On that occasion, amongst other matters, he alluded in a tone of sadness, to the course taken by his former colleague Mr Gladstone, in advocating Home Rule for Ireland.

Mr Bright used often to be visited by his friends at the Reform Club on Sunday afternoons, when they formed a group around him, listening with delight and interest to his observations on many topics.

Mr Bright was much attached to the Society of Friends and regularly attended its meetings for worship and also those for church government. He cherished its favourite doctrine of individual responsibility to the voice of God in the soul, or "the priesthood of all believers." In one of his speeches he quoted the lines—

"There is, on earth, a yet auguster thing,
Veiled though it be, than Parliament, or King,"

and he added—"That auguster thing is the tribunal which God has set up in the conscience of men."

On one occasion, when the writer was waiting upon him, by invitation, Mr Bright had not returned from a visit to the Royal Academy ; so the visitor took up a book, on the table, which happened to be "the Epic of Hades," by Morris, in which Mr Bright had initialled and marked certain passages. And amongst them were the lines, especially likely to interest a Friend—

"More it is than ease,
Palace and pomp, honours and luxuries,
To have seen white Presences upon the hills,
To have heard the voices of the Eternal Gods."

And again—

“A Presence walking with me, through my life.”

Mr Bright believed in, and sought to obey, the invisible but real Presence of the one Eternal God. And this, especially, enabled him to elevate the tone of British statesmanship and to become a blessing to his age and nation.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PRESS

Utilisation of the Press — The *Times* and the Howard Association — The *Times*—"Penological and Preventive Principles"—"Defects in Criminal Administration"—Some Foreign Official Acknowledgments—Foreign Translations—General Correspondents—Miscellaneous Contributions to the Press—Divine protection and Britain—Geographical and Geological Predestination—An International Code and Court—The Conscription—Religious and other Works.

AT its outset, the Howard Association had recourse to Lectures and Meetings, for the promotion of its objects. But it was soon found that its small income was not likely to permit such a general resort to these means as would be needful to give due effect to that particular mode of advocacy. Therefore it was resolved to devote special attention to the use of the Press, in conjunction with occasional Parliamentary efforts and a systematic correspondence at home and abroad.

Hence, during the Author's Secretaryship, he wrote innumerable letters and articles, both signed and unsigned, for the public journals, in addition to a cosmopolitan correspondence with individuals.

The Editor of the *Scotsman* (Edinburgh) in a leading article (June 10, 1882) remarked—"The Secretary of the Howard Association is not the man to let slip any opportunity of interesting the public in his ideas of prison reform. His pamphlets, leaflets and annual Reports fall, like a gentle rain, on all parts of the United Kingdom. The London press prints his letters by the score."

A friend had remarked to the Author, soon after entering on his Secretaryship—"Men are so busy, now-a-days, and have so many claims upon their attention, that it is desirable,

as far as possible, to present matters inviting public notice, in a form as condensed and as brief as a *Times* leader." The writer often remembered and acted on this hint ; and although obliged occasionally to prepare a book, or a pamphlet, usually limited his issues to letters or paragraphs in newspapers, or to printed slips and four-page papers, handy either to circulate amongst Editors, or to insert in envelopes when writing to private correspondents.

The Editor of the *Bradford Observer* recorded (in 1876) —" We have more than once had occasion to call attention to the leaflets issued by the Howard Association, which are so brief as not to tax the patience of the idlest and yet contrive to enclose, within this small space, highly valuable suggestions on most important subjects." It was the Author's habit, in his communications to the Press, to convey some information or illustration, likely to interest the reader and to avoid, where practicable, abstract argument, or at least to endeavour to argue mainly by the presentation of facts. But with some subjects, such as theological questions, abstract argument may be unavoidable and essential. The writer has often remembered a remark made to him by a member of a Royal Commission, respecting a certain witness before that body—" I hate him ; he is so argumentative."

In reference to the Press, the writer further studied the economy of effort. That is to say, he directed his attention almost exclusively to the journals of the greatest influence and circulation, both in London and the Provinces, and similarly with reference to the principal Colonial and American newspapers. He may thankfully acknowledge the great courtesy and favour accorded to his communications both by Metropolitan Editors and also by those of the journals of Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Bristol, Sheffield, Bradford, Hull, Newcastle, Plymouth, Dublin, Belfast and some other chief centres of population.

Whilst the Committee and Secretary of the Howard Association derived much assistance from the kind co-operation of many Editors, in many places, yet, year after year,

their labours received special recognition and support from the great leading journal of the Empire, and of the world—the *London Times*. The influence of the Association, both at home and abroad, was materially increased and extended by this particular source of assistance. Some hundreds of communications from the Secretary of the Association (signed and unsigned, longer or shorter) were courteously permitted to appear in the columns of that newspaper, on various occasions. And more than twenty-five “leaders,” in the *Times*, were either based upon, or made reference to, communications from the Howard Association, during the Author’s Secretaryship. The Committee and their Secretary, knowing something of the exigencies of Press conditions, did not, for a moment, expect that all their missives to the *Times*, could possibly find insertion, even if deemed suitable. But they had the gratification of finding that a large proportion of their communications were thus privileged. This circumstance has been to them a source of peculiar satisfaction.

On several occasions, private expressions of a very agreeable nature were forwarded to the Secretary from the Editorial Staff of the *Times*, as for example the following :—

“PRINTING HOUSE SQUARE,

“Sept. 4, 1878

“MY DEAR SIR,—Your letter upon Pauperism is in type and will appear, I hope, soon. Allow me to thank you for your interesting contributions. They have been, in matter and style, all we could wish ; and I can pay you no higher compliment than by saying that I regretted some of them were not longer.—Faithfully yours,

“FREDERICK CLIFFORD

“WILLIAM TALLACK, Esq.”

Again, in 1883 (Feb. 6) Mr Chenery, then the Editor of the *Times*, wrote to the Author—“I shall always be glad of any communication from you.”

Kind messages relative to his illness and retirement from the Secretaryship of the Howard Association, were also sent to the Author by Mr Chenery's successor in the Editorship, Mr George Earle Buckle.

Many circumstances have given the *Times* its very high position in journalism. Its large and able Editorial staff; the completeness of its Parliamentary and the accuracy, fulness and recognised authority of its Legal Reports; its comprehensive Literary, Engineering, and Financial Supplements; the extent and value of its very costly cosmopolitan intelligence, communicated by gentlemen having the confidence of leading statesmen everywhere; its habitual recourse to the services of the best Specialists, for matters of interest and importance; the freedom of opinion and expression accorded to its innumerable correspondents at home; and the talent and dignified character of its Leading Articles;—these features constitute an unequalled totality of journalistic efficiency. And even in the comparatively minor matter of typography, the *Times* holds a position of excellence. It has a new set of types every day.

It has, in general, manifested a rare degree of impartiality (a feature which is also a conspicuous characteristic of the leading weekly journal of the Empire, the *London Spectator*, with some others). The *Times* has often permitted, or reported, in its columns, the most outspoken criticisms and even some occasional vituperation, of its own statements and policy.

It is a special and most helpful friend to the many public charities and philanthropic institutions of the Empire, irrespective of sect or party, habitually allowing their appeals to appear in its columns and often advocating their claims.

A maxim of high authority lays down the principle that "Every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things." And the mastery in the department of journalistic influence attained by the *Times* is largely owing to the temperate and measured tone which usually marks its editorial articles. Mr Delane, its able conductor for thirty-six years, took for his motto—"No plunging!" and acted upon it throughout his long period of office. And his successors have done the same.

In connection with Mr Delane's editorship, it may be remarked that perhaps the most noteworthy sentiment that he ever penned, was his observation, in a letter to his friend M. De Blowitz, conveying his appreciation of the successful services of the latter to the cause of European Peace (in 1875)—"No greater honour than to have aided in averting war, is within the reach of the Journalist."

During the Russo-Japanese War, in 1904 and 1905, the *Times* exemplified its own love of Peace by devoting large space to Count Tolstoy's long and eloquent denunciations of War in general.

It is an interesting circumstance that both the Walter Family, as Proprietors, and also the Editors in chief, have always maintained a dignified independence of Government honour, or patronage, whilst powerfully and patriotically aiding the successive Administrations whom public opinion and popular suffrage have placed in office. Doubtless the leading Statesmen who, from time to time, have directed the affairs of the nation, would gladly have placed the managers of that journal under implied, or actual, obligations to themselves and their party, by the bestow-

ment of titles, or position ; but they have not been permitted the opportunity. The *Times* has maintained the absolute freedom of its own convictions and opinions. And it has reaped its reward in the confidence of the Empire and the world. Some of the chief contributors to the *Times* have indeed received titles, or office, from Governments ; but the Proprietors and Editors in chief, have kept themselves systematically aloof from such honours.

Another characteristic of the *Times*, creditable to all parties concerned, has been the comparatively long periods of its successive editorships, as compared with the average tenure of office of the conductors of most journals. Five Editors of the *Times*, may be said to have extended its work and influence throughout, and beyond the whole of the nineteenth century, namely Dr Stoddart, Mr Thomas Barnes, Mr John Thaddeus Delane, Mr Thomas Chenery and Mr George Earle Buckle. (It is also noteworthy that the *Scotsman*, the leading journal of North Britain, has only had five Editors during a period of nearly a century, namely Mr Maclaren, Mr Ritchie, Mr Alex. Russel, Dr R. Wallace and Mr C. A. Cooper.) And contemporaneously, a prolonged connection with the same journal has been enjoyed by many of its principal leader-writers, special correspondents and business-managers. It is thus evident that the controlling Proprietors have been possessed of a great faculty of discrimination in their selection of the Staff and that the latter have abundantly justified the confidence reposed in them.

But there is a further special claim of the *Times* to honour. Whilst compelled by the exigencies and the popularly recognised standards of daily journalism, to avoid, in general, the obtrusion of religious matters upon its readers, it has indirectly, but influentially, paid habitual homage to the supreme authority of God and to the great ethical principles of truth and righteousness. It has done this, not only by the most scrupulous avoidance of irreverence, or flippancy, in regard to subjects of the highest import, but also by its frequent and lengthy reports of the sermons of eminent preachers and by the welcome often accorded in its columns to the letters of many representatives of reputable theological opinion. The readers of the *Times* may therefore habitually gather, that its conductors are gentlemen by whom the most sacred of all sanctions are held in special honour.

A noteworthy testimony to the high moral tone of the *Times*, was borne in 1904, by an independent observer whose opinion is entitled to special regard, Dr Robertson Nicoll, Editor of the *British Weekly*—a gentleman who is described, in a Year Book of the period as “probably the best equipped journalist and theologian of the day.” He was referring to some bold and outspoken statements, in a recent *Times* leader, on the necessity of a high standard of morality and integrity for Members of the Legislature and other public bodies, and remarked —“We are profoundly grateful to the *Times* for the brave and manly stand it has made for the purity of public life. We need, as we need few things, great journals that can rise, in a crisis, far above Party, and contend for the purity and the peace of the nation. This the *Times* has done conspicuously, on recent occasions, with the result that it has never stood higher in the general esteem than at the present moment.”

In his work entitled “Penological and Preventive Principles, with special reference to Europe and America,”

the writer embodied the general conclusions arrived at, by the collection, during many years, of observations and experiences relating to the subjects of Crime, Prisons, Police, Pauperism, Intemperance, Prostitution, Sentences, Prevention, Reformation, and kindred matters. It met with a very appreciative reception, both from the Press in general and from executive Authorities in all parts of the world.

Within a few days of its publication, it was made the subject of long and very favourable reviews in the *Scotsman* (Edinburgh), the *Liverpool Mercury* and the *Leeds Mercury*, three leading Provincial journals which on many occasions took friendly notice of the general work of the Howard Association. The book had also the good fortune to be twice reviewed, and in a very pleasant manner, by the London *Spectator*, a circumstance particularly gratifying to the Author, in view of the very high character and influence of that journal. A large number of copies of the work were distributed by the Committee of the Howard Association, at home and abroad ; and two editions, of two thousand copies each, have been exhausted.

The Committee had, some years previously, distributed many hundred copies of another book, by their Secretary, entitled "Defects in the Criminal Administration and Penal Legislation of the United Kingdom, with Remedial Suggestions." It was translated into German by a Member of the Prussian Parliament.

During each year of his office, the Secretary devoted much time to the collection of materials for the Annual Reports of the Association. These and its other issues were systematically and gratuitously distributed, in many thousands, through the post, to Statesmen, Prison Officers, Philanthropists, Editors and other persons of influence, throughout the world. And very many were the thankful acknowledgments from the recipients, testifying to their appreciation and use of the information thus furnished to them. From the highest down to the most subordinate

authorities, home and foreign, such testimonies were forthcoming, year after year.

Prison Governors and other Authorities, in various parts of the world, informed the Howard Association that its publications had led them to take a deeper and more humane interest than previously in their official duties.

On one occasion, the Secretary, in visiting Berlin, called upon the Director-General of Prussian Prisons, at that time M. Illing, to ask his permission to visit some of those establishments. That gentleman, laying his hand upon a volume, said—"Are you the author of this book?" and on being answered in the affirmative, he added—"Then I have to thank you. For it has been a treasure to me." The writer could not but feel much gratified at such an acknowledgment from the high official having the control of the many thousand inmates of all the Prussian Prisons.

The Hon. A. SHERMAN, Secretary of the New York State Commissioners of Prisons, wrote from the Capitol, Albany—"In behalf of the State Commission of Prisons of New York, I return its sincere thanks for useful information, reports and courtesies received from the Howard Association."

Mr WALTER F. WILLCOX, Chief Statistician in the United States Census Office, at Washington, D.C., in 1900, wrote—"I have long been acquainted with your work on 'Penological Principles' and have used it not a little and always with much satisfaction."

Judge FRANCIS WAYLAND, Dean of Faculty of Yale College, U.S.A., and State Commissioner of Prisons—wrote in reference to the issue of "Penological Principles," in particular—"I do not know any work containing so many sensible and pertinent suggestions in regard to most important penological problems. It is a mine of information on all questions which concern the treatment and prevention of crime. Your work must be an indispensable handbook for all Penologists, in all civilized countries."

Dr PHILIP AYRES, of the New York Charity Organization Society, 1898, wrote—"I congratulate the Howard Association upon its very extended influence throughout the world, in educating people to understand the meaning of Prison Reform."

A Florida journal, "*The Evangelist*," recorded, in 1900, "The Howard Association has rendered the Negro great service, in calling the attention of the world to the Lynching Evil and to the treatment of Convicts in the Southern States."

Dr ASCHROTT, of Berlin, an eminent German Judge, in 1897 published a work on Prisons in which he bore repeated testimony to the services of the Howard Association and its literature.

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The Director-General of the Prisons of Finland, M. A. DE GRIPENBERG, wrote in 1896—"I thank you for the documents and official reports which your Association has forwarded to us and in which we find a treasure of experiences."

Dr LAMMASCH, Professor of Criminal Law, Vienna, wrote, respecting the Secretary's "Penological Principles,"—"I have drawn a great deal of most valuable information out of it. In an article in the *Gerichtsaal*, I drew public attention, in Germany and Austria, to this admirable work."

In Japan, the Government Instructor of Police and Prison Officers, M. TOMEOKA, wrote from Tokyo, in 1900, "I lecture to one hundred and eleven Chief Warders of Japanese prisons. We are very grateful to you for the aid you have rendered. We thank you much for your Reports and Papers."

The French, German, Russian, Italian, Swedish, Danish, Japanese, and other journals dealing with matters of Penal Law, Prison Discipline and Social Reforms, inserted, year after year, numerous translations of the Literature and Reports issued by the Howard Associations, thus ensuring for them a still wider foreign circulation and utility.

For the use made of the Press by the Howard Association, it was, of course, largely indebted not only to the willing co-operation of journalists, but also to its many friends and correspondents, in all parts of the world, who furnished the facts, figures and other information which when subsequently published, elicited the many appreciative acknowledgments from the recipients and readers.

Whilst most of the Author's communications to the *Times*, in particular, had more or less reference to the objects and social reforms connected with the efforts of the Howard Association, yet he was also often permitted to write in its columns on miscellaneous matters, as, for instance, upon the Society of Friends, International Arbitration and Peace, and many other topics.

The general prosperity of the Friends, in conjunction with their exemption from military service, excited the ire of a writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, who wrote an article which appeared to this Author so unfair and incorrect that he sent a private letter to the Editor of the *Times*, inviting his attention to the attack upon a body whose services to humanity had just been acknowledged in its own columns. The then Editor, Mr J. T. Delane, in reply, suggested that

the writer should himself deal with the subject, in his columns. Accordingly he wrote a letter, over the signature of "A Member of the Society of Friends," which was at once inserted in the *Times*.

On various subsequent occasions, the Editors of the *Times* have kindly permitted the writer to describe in its columns the work of the Friends. In 1890, being the 200th anniversary of the death of George Fox, he contributed to it a long (unsigned) article entitled "Two Centuries of Quakerism" (the *Times*, May 29, 1896), reviewing the history and character of the Society during that period.

Mention may also be made of two letters from the Author which called forth a good deal of criticism, both favourable and otherwise, and which appeared in the *Times* in the early part of 1894. The first was entitled—"An inadequately appreciated National Defence" (January 19) and the second—"Providential Protection—Disarmament and a High Court" (January 30).

These letters were occasioned by the writer's surprise and regret that during a great and general outcry which was then being raised for an increase of the military and naval defences of the nation, scarcely any expression of recognition appeared forthcoming, either in the newspapers, or in the Parliamentary Debates, or even from any of the leaders of the Churches, in acknowledgment of the reality and special value of Divine Protection, as a primary source of national security. Whilst refraining from any controversy as to the particular question of War and Armaments, the writer urged the paramount and supreme importance of a national regard to, and trust in, the continuing protection of God who has, throughout the ages, so manifestly blessed Great Britain and her people.

He ventured also to allude to the frequent failure, in the past, of the most gigantic armaments, as for example the legions of Napoleon and the "Invincible" Armada, as showing the danger of any nation placing its supreme reliance upon physical force.

The *Times* accompanied that letter with a leading article which the Editor commenced by a kindly reference to the writer as "a much respected and thoroughly earnest correspondent," and after dealing, in succession, and very fairly, with the several points of the letter, concluded with the words—"The convictions of average Englishmen were never more clearly and forcibly expressed than by that great Captain and Ruler who told his men, when they were crossing a river, on a memorable occasion—'Put your trust in God, but mind you keep your powder dry!' Yet Cromwell, whatever his faults, was assuredly not wanting in the abiding sense of a Supreme Power."

The Author again wrote, in reply to that article and (in the *Times* of January 30, 1894) remarked—"In your interesting and not unkindly phrased leader, you allude to Cromwell's favourite saying, 'Trust in God and keep your powder dry!' Now precisely the main object of my former letter was to express surprise that for every ten thousand public utterances about the 'powder,' we hardly have one reference to God. That was not Cromwell's way; neither that of his great contemporary Gustavus Adolphus. Surely Parliament, the Press and especially the Churches (with Bishops, Deans and other leaders) should not be so unchivalrously reticent about the last. This was all I wrote for: no controversy about Army or Navy."

The writer then added some remarks in advocacy of partial Disarmament and the establishment of an impartial, because independent, High Court of Nations.

These two letters brought to the writer expressions of approval from persons whose opinions he valued, but they also elicited considerable satire in some quarters. *Punch* good-humouredly announced that the office of Lord High Admiral was to be conferred on the Author; whilst another comic paper depicted him as standing on the sea-shore behind a little fortress composed of Bibles.

In each of the two letters in the *Times*, alluded to above, the writer made a passing reference to the evidence afforded by the geographical position of Great

Britain and its geological formations, in favour of the probability of a special Divine predestination of this country, for God's service and for protection by Him. London is situated almost in the very middle of the great continental regions of the globe; so that thence may be exercised, to the greatest advantage, a cosmopolitan influence, not merely for commerce and civilisation, but for Christian missions and evangelisation. Further, God has fortified Britain by its insular position.

"Compassed for ever by the inviolate sea," its climate is most favourable for the maintenance of a vigorous and maritime race. Its perpetual greenery and abundant flora are almost unequalled elsewhere.

Then, too, the series of rocks in Great Britain constitute a *unique* geological gem of arrangement. Nowhere else in the whole world is so complete and varied a representation of the principal strata of the successive formations—with their valuable stores of coal and other minerals. Almost every stage of the great geological "staircase" is there represented. It is evident that, for innumerable ages, God was preparing, in Great Britain, a sphere of action for a race specially ordained for His own honour and service, and therefore likely to be also effectually protected by Him. Scientific Evolution, in such a matter, is identical with Divine predestination.

Britain exerts an unsurpassed, if not unequalled influence, through such great organisations of world-wide operation as the Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Christian Knowledge Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, and the various extensive Missions of the Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Quaker, and other Churches.

The English tongue appears destined to obtain universal pre-eminence throughout the world.

In 1898, after reading the Rescript of the Czar of Russia, suggesting an International Conference on Disarmament, the Author was again permitted, in the *Times* (of September 1), to advocate a Codification of International Law and a Court to administer it. As an illustration, or precedent, he remarked—"In a certain real sense, the several score States of the great American Union are so many nations. But they have long had, in valuable and easily practicable operation, a means of amicably adjusting inter-State differences, through an appeal to the Judges and Laws of the Federal Supreme Court at Washington. That constitutes an important and exemplary precedent for imitation by the European nations."

A special essential, however, for thoroughly satisfactory International Arbitration must involve really independent Arbi-

trators, men in a position like that of the Judges in English Courts. Hitherto, such have seldom, or with difficulty, been obtained, when selected *ad hoc*, or for single cases of dispute. Far more efficient would be a *permanent* Court of independent, well-salaried Arbitrators, irremovable, and constituting a more impartial tribunal than any yet secured.

On many other occasions, the writer advocated the establishment of such a Court and Code of Nations, both by communications to the London and Provincial Press and elsewhere, as for example, at the Dublin Social Science Congress in 1881.

The subject of the Conscription was treated of, by the writer, in several communications to the Press. In a letter to the *Times* (in January 1900), he invited attention to its tendency, in Continental countries, to infringe upon popular liberty. He remarked—"On the Continent, the Conscription everywhere involves either the absence, or the undue restriction, of those priceless Imperial privileges; Free Speech and a Free Press. We ought all to be 'Imperialists' and 'Greater Englanders,' but in the true sense of the terms; that is to say, by supporting the extension of Civil and Religious Liberty, the very *sine qua non* of that highest form of Empire which is 'broad-based upon the People's will.'"

During many years the writer often contributed papers to some of the religious journals, and especially to those connected with the Society of Friends, both in Great Britain and the United States.

On his return from the latter country, in 1860, he embodied his observations on American Quakerism in a book entitled "Friendly Sketches in America," (London, Bennett), and shortly afterwards, wrote three small volumes of Quaker biography, dealing respectively with the lives of George Fox, Thomas Shillitoe and Peter Bedford (London, Partridge, S. W.).

Another book was the result of the Author's stay of several months in Malta in 1859, and was entitled, "Malta under the Phenicians, Knights and English" (London, Bennett).

Of the various Pamphlets and Magazine articles written by the Author, some related to the work and objects of the Howard Association, and some to theological, denominational and other questions.

CHAPTER XIV

PAUPERISM AND ITS PREVENTION

The Bible and the Poor—Holland—Agricultural Colonies—The Elberfeld System—"Out Relief"—The Unemployed—Prevention—Temperance *versus* Pauperism—Handicraft Training—Urban Overcrowding—The Rural Exodus—Denmark—Swiss Methods—The Allotment System—Emigration—The Churches—The Adult School Movement—"The Residuum."

THE Howard Association has always devoted much attention to the subject of Pauperism, especially on account of its frequent connection with Crime and Vice. The study of this matter increasingly impressed upon the Committee and their Secretary a conviction of the permanent value and wisdom of the intimations contained in the Bible respecting the assistance of the poor and the prevention of destitution. The Psalmist's declaration—"Blessed is he that *considereth* the poor" (Ps. xli. 1), inculcates the importance of adopting such means for the diminution of Pauperism as are really likely to promote the object in view. But it is often found that measures ostensibly designed for this purpose actually tend to increase the evil in question.

The example of the Lord Jesus Christ and of His Apostles was in the direction of removing obstacles to self-help, or of infusing energy and encouragement into the weak and enfeebled. Thus the blind received their sight, the lame were enabled to walk and the paralytic had their strength restored. Such truly beneficent assistance was the very reverse of that indiscriminate almsgiving, or too bountiful bestowment of relief, which results in lessening the motives to self-help and encourages a habit of dependence upon others.

Whilst it is no longer practicable to aid the poor by miraculous interposition, yet the same *principle* of right assistance can still be acted upon by efforts to infuse hope, to impart encouragement, to afford guidance, to manifest sympathy and also, but within due limits, to afford pecuniary or material aid. And an imitation of the Saviour's example, in one particular respect, is not only still practicable, but eminently important as a most helpful and comforting influence—"to the poor *the Gospel* is preached."

In the course of several visits to Holland, Belgium and Germany, the writer observed with satisfaction the wiser course adopted in those countries with regard to Pauperism than in some other nations.

The Dutch system is designed, in general, to furnish the needy with a staff rather than a crutch, or, in other words, to give as little as possible of continuous or permanent support, and, while obviating absolute starvation, to take care that the poor shall still be surrounded by strong and wholesome inducements, to personal exertion. For instance, instead of placing paupers wholly, as burdens upon the shoulders of the ratepayers, as extensively in England, the Dutch prefer to relieve them in their own homes with a variety of partial helps, and in kind, rather than in money, as by grants of food for a certain number of weeks, temporary supplies of clothing, or fuel, payment for medical attendance, or funeral expenses, or the rent of a house, or of an allotment of land, with other similar modes of carefully guarded assistance.

The Dutch have not the class of costly "Poor Houses," or "Union Houses," as in England, nor the "House Test." But by rendering Pauperism *non-attractive*, whilst affording absolutely necessary relief, they confer a really valuable service, both upon the actual pauper and upon those other persons who might be induced to become such, under the system usually adopted in Great Britain. The English "House Test" possesses some advantages, but it largely

fails with the least pitiable class of paupers, the shameless and reckless, many of whom willingly become life-inmates of the Union Workhouses. The Dutch plan is at once kinder and more stringent, as well as far cheaper. It avoids, in general, the breaking-up of the home, or the dissolution of family life, whilst stimulating practicable self-help.

On several occasions, the writer described, in the *Times* and other journals, the advantages of the Dutch and German systems. One of these descriptions was made the subject of a leading article in the *Saturday Review* (1887), headed by a quotation of the Author's phrase, "The necessary element of Non-Attractiveness," and strongly approving of the views expressed by him.

Both in regard to the treatment of Pauperism and Crime, it is a fundamentally important principle to combine with humanity the avoidance of any course which would induce workers to abandon self-help, or would render the discipline of offenders more agreeable than honest toil. The English Poor-Law Reform of 1834 was largely based on this essential principle, that the condition of the State-supported pauper should not be rendered superior to that of the ordinary independent labourer. But latterly that principle has been greatly neglected in England and with increasingly disastrous results.

The Dutch, like the Swedes and Danes, are keenly alive to the importance of *preventing* Pauperism, by training the young in industrial habits, and especially in handicraft skill. The writer visited with interest the elementary technical schools of Amsterdam. In Sweden a number of somewhat similar schools are in active operation amongst the children of the poorer classes. They give instruction in "Sloyd," or the use of tools; and they are of great social value. Handicraft training and technical education are, however, being increasingly extended in most nations at the present time.

In Holland, Belgium, Germany and Switzerland, whilst much kindly endeavour is made to induce self-help on the part of the poor, many of the deliberately lazy and the

shirkers from work are dealt with by being sent to Agricultural Colonies, or handicraft Factories.

There are two classes of Agricultural Colonies in East Holland. Both there and in Germany it has been found essential to keep beggars and discharged prisoners in entirely distinct establishments from the respectable agricultural labourer, or other worker. And in general the public will not employ the former class, on account of their evil habits.

Strict classification, in reference to such Colonies, is absolutely necessary. What may be termed the penal, or semi-penal Colonies, in Holland and Belgium and also such as those at Wilhelmsdorf near Bielefeld and elsewhere in Germany, appear to possess little permanent reformatory influence on their inmates; and their chief value consists in the withdrawal of undesirable characters from the community for certain periods. Thus at Merxplas, in Belgium, several thousand of this class are compulsorily detained for periods varying from two to seven years. They are employed both in field labour and in handicrafts and are rendered nearly self-supporting. The community at large is thus usefully relieved from their presence and mischief.

The special class of Colonies, near Steenwyk, in East Holland, for respectable and permanent settlers, with their leaseholds and small holdings, afford successful assistance to many persons.

The most useful function of Agricultural Colonies, whether on the Continent or elsewhere, consists in their affording the means of *temporary* occupation for otherwise unemployed persons who are really willing to work. Some initial experiments in this direction in England, as at Hadleigh in Essex and some other places, have practically indicated the good which might be achieved by an extension of similar establishments, for willing workers.

In 1905, the English Local Government Board officially announced its approval of this mode of assisting the unemployed and its willingness to promote its adoption, on a national scale, by means of central County Committees

(aided by Sub-Committees) empowered to impose limited rates for the purchase, or rent of land, for farming colonies and for other public works, so that respectable workmen, temporarily unemployed, may be able to obtain relief without recourse to the workhouse or to the guardians who administer pauper assistance. In so far as such a system may be carried out judiciously, it will be a noteworthy advance in the management of the poor in this country.

But it is also necessary to take collateral measures for the more stringent control and more or less penal treatment of the too numerous class of able-bodied paupers who will not work when they have the offer and who persist in preying upon the community, either as professional beggars, or as willing and lazy inmates of the workhouse, where they are a burden on the honest and industrious ratepayer.

The compulsory detention and industrial occupation of this class has been so generally neglected in Great Britain as to constitute a great public injury. Whereas in Germany and Switzerland it is one of the chief elements in the management of tramps and mendicants.

In Germany it is generally admitted that the Labour Colonies in that country (between thirty and forty in number) have had some good results, more particularly in causing the public to diminish almsgiving, and so to lessen, also, the inducements to mendicancy. And vagrants are less numerous in consequence.

But, at the same time, the most intelligent observers are also of opinion that the "Colonies" have largely failed in their original object of permanently reclaiming the idle vagrant, or previously criminal classes, amongst their inmates. For more than half of these, on the average, return to the Colonies, and some of them many times in succession. Very few, comparatively, join the ranks of settled industry afterwards.

The causes of this considerable degree of failure are stated to consist in the intemperate habits of most of the "Colonists" both before and after their stay in the

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“Colonies” ; and also in the insufficient length of their industrial training there. It is considered that at least a year is needful to establish industrial and temperate habits ; whereas the great body of “Colonists” only remain for a much shorter period under training. Thus, in Germany, as in Great Britain, it is proved that Intemperance is the chief source of pauperism and vagrancy, and that until this habit is primarily dealt with and overcome, no other means of permanent improvement are likely to avail. For it not only produces pauperism, but also largely counteracts any attempts at effectual rescue from that condition.

On behalf of the Howard Association, the writer visited Elberfeld, in order to study the system of dealing with poverty specially associated with that city, and subsequently extended to many other towns in Germany. Both there and elsewhere, he was courteously furnished, by the local authorities, with the information he desired.

By its general adoption of “the Elberfeld system,” Germany has taken a foremost position in regard to the best methods both of the relief and the prevention of Pauperism. She has set an excellent example to Britain and other nations.

Many years of practical experience have proved that the system in question is an economical one, in addition to its other merits. It has greatly diminished destitution and suffering. It has stimulated self-help and an independent spirit. It has encouraged the duties of kindred and relationship, and enforced parental responsibilities. And it has exerted a most beneficial influence upon the many thousands of more or less prosperous persons whom it has successfully enlisted in the help and companionship of the poorer members of the community.

At Elberfeld, Leipzig, Cologne and elsewhere, the Municipalities have organised an army of unpaid visitors of the poor, who act under the supervision of a Central Board of Direction, in whom are vested the powers needful to enable them to carry out their excellent public service. The

duties of visitation are so sub-divided and systematised that each visitor has only a very few families to look after, varying from two to six. The term of each visitor's prescribed and legally *compulsory* service is three years. But in many, if not most, cases the visitors gladly volunteer, again and again, for re-appointment.

Still it is important to observe that the element of *compulsion* is the backbone and essential stimulus of the System. There is, in the first place, the compulsory obligation of the Visitors: and, secondly, the poor who are visited are also compulsorily required to comply with the needful duties laid down for them. Certain purely voluntary and sporadic imitations of the Elberfeld System in England have proved comparative failures for want of this double compulsion.

The system, as carried out at Elberfeld, realises the ideal of the French philanthropist, Ozanam, who desired that every poor person should enjoy "l'aumone de la direction," or the gift of guidance. And it is this friendly guidance which is often more valuable to the poor than pecuniary help. As to the latter, the aim and attainment of the Elberfeld plan is that no citizen shall suffer starvation, or be destitute of clothing and warmth. *Either* by self-help, or by the aid of the Municipality, through its Visitors, *every* man, woman and child is secured from absolute privation in these three respects.

The pecuniary aid is, as far as possible, rendered temporary in its character, and is so administered as not to encourage either imposture or laziness. Most careful and systematic inquiries are made into the circumstances and ability of the recipients of assistance. A sum of three or four shillings a week for every adult, and about eighteenpence for each child, is regarded as the *minimum* amount on which a family can exist. Where this amount, or more, can be earned by labour, no assistance is given. But when it is obvious that such an income is not obtainable by the efforts of the family, then the requisite balance is supplied by the city.

For invalids, the aged and the helpless, special assistance is furnished ; and the co-operation of the ladies of the city is invited and freely given in the aid of these classes.

As in Holland, so in Germany, such a mode of relief prevents the breaking-up of the home, or the dissolution of the family life of the poor. And in neither country is there the amount of squalid degradation and drunkenness so frequently witnessed in the British Isles, where female drunkenness, in particular, is such a common evil. Probably no country spends so much money on its paupers as Great Britain. And probably in no other country is there a similar amount of squalid pauperism.

Whilst the Visitors, under the Elberfeld System, are virtually Guardians of the Poor, they feel that their duty is not merely to administer relief, but also studiously to encourage a spirit of independence and self-respect. The object is not to extend but to restrict out-relief, so far as this can be done without causing suffering or undue privation. And as a class, these German Visitors are more intelligent than many of the English Guardians elected by virtually universal suffrage. The latter are often grossly ignorant of the general results of previous Poor-Law experiences.

At Elberfeld and generally in Germany (as in Belgium) those able-bodied persons who will not work are consigned to prisons for considerable periods of detention. This adjunct of compulsory power, to the Elberfeld System in particular, is a very important element in its successful working.

The English Poor-Law does not encourage thrift. It positively discourages the habit of saving for old age, or want, inasmuch as it has usually made complete destitution the only qualification for assistance. But the German plan is a wiser one. It recognises the value of thrift, so far as practised, and supplements, to a reasonable extent, the endeavours of the poor in the way of self-help.

As in Holland, so at Elberfeld and elsewhere in Germany, the administration of out-door relief is successfully guarded

by checks and precautions which have been usually neglected and lacking in England. And both Holland and Germany have thus with great advantage saved themselves from the immense array of Union Poor-Houses, with their costly army of permanent officials, which constitute so heavy a burden on the British ratepayer.

The Elberfeld System, however, whilst working so advantageously in Germany, contains elements of official and compulsory control, both as to the visitors and the visited, which would possibly be too uncongenial to British ideas of civic freedom for its adoption in this country. At least such adoption, here, does not yet seem likely, in view of the very strongly entrenched establishment of other methods and other principles.

Hence a more available progress in combatting British pauperism may be in the direction of an extensive and systematic resort to Agricultural Colonies, Handicraft Factories and the "Allotment System" together with an imitation of the German plan of a network of Relief-Stations, at suitable distances, for the help of the class of vagrants in search of work and with collateral arrangements for the more certain arrest and detention of professional mendicants.

Out-door Relief may be rendered either one of the best, or one of the worst, modes of dealing with Pauperism. In Germany and Holland it succeeds. In England it has failed. For in the former it is administered with the requisite safeguards and intelligence; whilst in the latter these have been often neglected, or are insufficient.

Although the British "House Test," by "Indoor Relief" has very often been a failure with certain classes of paupers, yet the Rev. Brooke Lambert, of Greenwich, has recorded, after thirty years observation, as a Guardian of the Poor,—
 "Out-door Relief does not benefit the poor, as a class. It dries up the stream of family effort. It breaks down the self-reliance of the poor in the most invidious way. It *creates* pauperism." These words have been confirmed by the results, in recent years, of retrograde action on the part of the

English "Local Government Board," in conjunction with Socialist agitations, causing large extensions of out-relief, *apart* from the German safeguards. Consequently, in many districts, the rates have gone up by leaps and bounds, whilst pauperism has concurrently increased in a corresponding ratio.

But where, in previous years and under a wiser mode of administration, out-relief had been discriminatingly restricted, as at Atcham (Shropshire), Bradfield (Berks), and Whitechapel in London, remarkably satisfactory results were secured. Self-help was stimulated, local pauperism greatly diminished, the aid of relatives developed and a spirit of independence extended.

The Howard Association diffused, through the newspaper press and otherwise, much information on the general question of the Unemployed. In regard to this subject, there is abundant reason to conclude that whilst various social and commercial causes often prevent multitudes of men and women from obtaining occupation at which they would willingly labour, yet there is also a large proportion of persons professing to be anxious for employment, but really determined to refuse it, if offered. Pretending to seek work, that is the last thing they wish to find. This class is represented by the foreign beggar who said to a magistrate—"I have been in England for seven years and never did any work; and I don't intend to do any, for I can get a much better living by begging than by working."

During some recent winters, large bodies of the unemployed, professing to be desirous of work, have paraded the streets of London and other cities with begging boxes. Some men have left their employers in order to join these ranks. And repeatedly on being offered work, the reply has been, "No! we can get more money by begging than by working."

It has often been proved that the resolutely lazy class form a large proportion of the professedly unemployed and include the whole body of habitual beggars. In 1904 the Secretary of the London Mendicity Society, on whose books are the records of 75,000 street mendicants, stated that

he had never known a deserving case amongst the whole of them and he could challenge the public to produce one. And it has been remarked that mendicity and mendacity usually go together. And Canon Barnett has well observed that the problem of the Unemployable is a more difficult one than that of the merely Unemployed.

Even in times of much real distress amongst the deserving poor, the application of a labour-test has always had a marvellous effect in revealing the large proportion of impostors amongst the multitudes of unemployed seeking relief. Such experiences illustrate the truth of Dr Chalmers' saying that "Pauperism is a bugbear which looks a gigantic hydra when seen in the bulk, or from a distance, but vanishes when dealt with at close quarters, or piecemeal, and in small separate sections."

In dealing with this great social and national difficulty of the Unemployed, so far at least as the United Kingdom is concerned, there appears to have been, both on the part of the Administration and of private benevolence, a most inadequate amount of attention to its *causes and sources*. There is hardly anything to which the motto so emphatically applies, "Prevention is better than cure." For non-employment, on any extensive scale, has special and perpetuating causes which, so long as they are permitted to exist unchecked, will continue to defy, more or less, all attempts at amelioration.

First and foremost amongst these perpetuating causes is Intemperance, both as fostered by its legalised facilities and by popular appetite and indifference. There may be ever-increasing appeals for relief, ever-augmenting taxation and expenditure for such relief, but so long as the social conditions which have hitherto prevailed are so neglected, or so inadequately counteracted, as in the past, the evil will never be brought under control, but will tend to augment in intensity and ruinous effect.

Thus in the poorest districts of London the preponderating cause of the pauperisation which year by year tends to

increase, is obviously the excessive drinking habits of so many of the people. Mr F. N. Charrington, an active East-End philanthropist, said to a newspaper reporter: "Some of the dock-labourers have been lately earning £3 a week and upwards, and even then were almost starving by the week-end. It is drink, drink, everywhere that is at the bottom of it." He added: "Give many of these people as good a home as you like, and they would reduce it to a pig-stye in a week. Give them boots for all their children, and these will all go straight to the pawnshop." The Bishop of London recently stated that in one workhouse in East London, out of 1000 female inmates, one half were there from drink, and that nearly all the young women who were sent into the workhouse infirmary had ruined their lives by the use of alcohol. The master of one of the largest Pauper Union Houses in London says that 80 per cent. of the inmates were brought there by intemperance.

How appallingly destructive to home life and to the health and morals of the children is female intemperance, in particular! A woman resident in East London remarked, "God sends the children, but the devil now makes the mothers!"

And as to South London, a well-known local clergyman reports: "There are many decent, sober working men in Walworth, but an enormous number measure all their time by half-pints. They drink from Saturday to Monday, and then they pawn their clothes. The women drink all day long. They are perpetually going in for a drink. They do not get drunk—they soak. However poor they are, they can always find money for half a pint." And yet the blame for poverty in such districts is, by many persons, attributed to an insufficiency of liberality on the part of the already overburdened ratepayer and of the benevolent portion of the community. Public-houses thrive in the poorest city slums, and amid the most harrowing appeals for assistance.

A foremost friend of the London poor, Mr John Burns, M.P., has said: "For one case in which poverty leads to

drinking, I believe that there are nine in which drinking leads to poverty." He also very justly denounced the private drinking clubs as being far worse than public-houses. Out of nearly one thousand so-called "Working Men's Clubs" in this country, less than fifty are Temperance clubs. A Salvation officer reports that many of them are merely facilities for unrestrained drunkenness, gambling, and debauchery. It is regrettable that Trades Unions and Workmen's Provident Societies very generally patronise public-houses, by holding their meetings in them.

Unquestionably the neglect of many authorities and of the legislature to take (as in Germany) more effective measures for the diminution of Urban Overcrowding has had much influence in cherishing Intemperance, and so increasing the ranks of the unemployed. Yet experience has shown that virtuous and temperate homes can exist even in the slums, whereas the drunken or boozing tenant renders the tenement foul and insanitary. So that a vigorous campaign, by Government and people, against the facilities for drunkenness, would be the most helpful and hopeful means of dealing with the question of the Unemployed. But so far, the British Government, as for example by the Licensing Act of 1904, has rather upheld and augmented the already disastrous influence of the Liquor Traffic. It should, on the other hand, be strongly discouraged by the enforcement of "High License."¹

Another cause of a large measure of non-employment consists in the defective conditions of the Land Laws and Cottage Tenure, whereby multitudes of the agricultural

¹ The American plan of "High License" Taxation of the Liquor Traffic would, if adopted in Great Britain, largely reduce the number of public-houses, and would also exact some reasonable compensation from the liquor vendors for the special pecuniary gifts and privileges conferred upon them by legislation. Mr Samuel Smith, M.P., stated in 1904, in a speech in Flintshire, that if London publicans were taxed in the same ratio as the same class in New York, they would have to pay two millions sterling annually, a sum which might be made available to ameliorate some of the serious mischief hitherto caused by the excessive temptations to drunkenness. And all private drinking Clubs should also be heavily taxed, in sums varying according to the number of members.

population have been driven into the already over-crowded cities.

It is by a vigorous grappling with such primary causes of non-employment, as those just mentioned, that incomparably more success may be hoped for, than by any and all the means possibly available merely for diminishing their effects. John Howard has been described as "the pioneer of *preventive*, as distinguished from *palliative*, philanthropy"; and the Howard Association has seen increasing cause to admire his practical wisdom in this respect, and humbly to seek to recommend the principle to others. For in the matter of the Unemployed, it is of vital necessity.

In view of the immense influence of drunkenness in producing both Pauperism and Crime, the Howard Association earnestly and habitually advocated such means of promoting Temperance as commended themselves to the judgment of the Committee. During many years, the Secretary was permitted to write on this question in the columns of the *Times* and other journals. One of these letters on the subject, in an evening newspaper, brought him a telegram from a well-known Liverpool philanthropist, Mr Alexander Balfour, ordering three thousand copies of it.

In 1876 a paper, entitled "Modes of Diminishing Temperance," was issued by the Committee of the Howard Association, signed on its behalf by Mr Lightly Simpson (Chairman of the Great Eastern Railway) and widely circulated. It elicited letters of approval from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Dean of Westminster and others. Amongst its recommendations were—the concentration of Licensing Authorities in a single body, in each district, to the exclusion of any collateral control, either by the Quarter Sessions or the Excise. Also the appointment, by the Government, of independent Inspectors of all licensed premises; together with the withdrawal of licenses for the sale of drink from all Music and Dancing Halls. Further, a general imitation of the course adopted, with great success, for some years, by the Luton

Magistrates, in actively supporting the Police in efforts to give the best effect to *existing* legislation on drunkenness and the liquor traffic. The Committee urged a longer detention of Habitual Drunkards, either in Inebriate Asylums, or elsewhere. Attention was also invited to the importance, as bearing upon Temperance, of Healthy Dwellings, Provident Habits, Popular Recreations, Workmen's Clubs, Education and a cheap supply of non-intoxicating beverages. And a considerable limitation of the hours of sale of alcohol is very needful.

Inasmuch as the public-house usually offers the only sheltered and warm centre of cheerful companionship available for the labouring man, or the very poor, it is absolutely necessary, in the interests of Temperance, that similar centres, without the drink, should be provided. They should combine the advantages of a refreshment saloon, a parlour and a library. And they could easily be rendered self-supporting and attractive, if not trammelled with extreme and unpopular regulations.

Both in 1877, and by a personal visit to Gothenburg, in 1878, the Author collected from the chief authorities of that town, a number of opinions and facts respecting the operation of what is usually known as "the Gothenburg System" of liquor-license regulation. These results were published in the newspaper press and on the whole they indicated that the efficiency claimed for the system by some of its admirers had been greatly overrated by them. And it is now generally admitted that Gothenburg has more, rather than less, drunkenness than other towns. At Basle, in Switzerland, however, a somewhat similar system is considered to have achieved some success.

A fairly hopeful means of regulating the public sale of alcohol is to be looked for from the extension of the "Central Public House Trust Association," commenced in London and elsewhere, in 1901, under the Chairmanship of Earl Grey. The total elimination of private profit from the Liquor Traffic is most desirable in itself, but appears to be

unlikely of early attainment in the United Kingdom, owing to the immense power and vested interests of the Liquor Traffic, and more especially since the Licensing Act of 1904.

In 1895 the writer was summoned to give evidence before the Scottish Departmental Committee on Habitual Drunkards, of which Sir Charles Cameron, M.P., was Chairman. On that occasion the writer urged the importance of the element of *time*, for the reformation of habitual drunken misdemeanants who, too generally, are committed to jail, over and over again, for a few days, or weeks, without any result either of reformation or deterrence. In 1897 the author discussed the same subject in the *Times*. This elicited a confirmatory and approving letter, in the same journal, from Sir Charles Cameron. In the following year, the Government passed "The Inebriates' Act, 1898," enacting that drunken misdemeanants, convicted four times within a year, may be liable to detention in a Reformatory, or other similar institution, for a period not exceeding three years. This measure has not fulfilled the expectations previously entertained respecting it—for various reasons. Probably the placing of habitual drunkards under the authoritative care of Probation Officers, as in Massachusetts, would be decidedly more effective.

The *time*-element is of importance also in regard to Total Abstinence Pledges—so large a proportion of which are speedily broken. For, in very many cases, it is utterly impossible for a poor weak drunkard to adhere permanently and absolutely to such an engagement. Much greater success has attended the plan of temporary pledges of abstinence, first for a month, then for two months, and afterwards for a year. And this mode of procedure has resulted ultimately in a larger proportion of permanently kept promises than under the pledges of immediately total abstinence.

In connection with legislative measures for the encouragement of Temperance, it must always be borne in mind that drunkenness is mainly to be combated by efforts to reform

the *person* who drinks, rather than the *place* of sale—although the regulation of the latter is of great importance. A sense of individual duty to God and man must ever be an influential factor in the matter—together with a consideration of the immense evils both of absolute drunkenness and even less extreme forms of Intemperance. For all prisons are largely tenanted by the intemperate. So are the numerous Poor Houses, Hospitals, Refuges, and Lunatic Asylums. Innumerable accidents, shipwrecks, and conflagrations are also occasioned by Intemperance.

Another cause of many persons remaining unemployed is the circumstance that they have no handicraft skill, or ability. Again and again, in visiting prisons, the Author has been informed, by the Governors, that so few skilled workmen are sent to them that it is often very difficult to find any prisoner able to perform the mechanical work needed there. At Elmira, and some other prisons abroad, it is a special part of the reformatory system, to qualify the prisoners to execute all the work of some trade, or industry, requiring handicraft skill. Mere wood-chopping, stone-breaking, and such employments are of no value to the prisoner on his discharge.

To the ordinary poor youth, the best remedy for individual helplessness is the old-fashioned system of Apprenticeship. Technical schools are, comparatively, of far less value; for their attendance, being voluntary, is apt to become spasmodic or very insufficient, even in regard to the minority of young persons who may have time and inclination to avail themselves of them. Whereas a continuous training of several years in apprenticeship, under competent employers and trade instructors, gives a life-long ability for skilled and remunerative self-support.

It is greatly to be regretted that on both sides of the Atlantic, owing to the selfish policy of certain Trades' Unions and to other causes, apprenticeships have fallen into disuse to a considerable extent. A revival of the system, on an extensive scale, would tend materially to diminish both crime and pauperism.

Sweden has long devoted special effort to the handicraft training of poor children in the "Sloyd" schools. The National Council of Swedish Ladies reported in 1904, after nearly twenty years' experience of these schools—"They have proved to be one of the best *preventive* means against vagrancy and criminality amongst the young. Thousands of children, some coming from the worst homes, have been saved *without* being taken from their parents, or being put into orphanages or reformatories."

In connection with pauperism, the subject of Urban Overcrowding claimed much investigation by the Howard Association. In view of the enormous sums of money paid by many public bodies to the owners of insanitary property and over-crowded dwellings, for positively neglecting their own duties, the Author wrote to the *Times* (October 13, 1900) a letter, of which the gist was contained in the sentence—"Enforce house owners' duties and do not impose those duties upon the ratepayers." It elicited the following letter from a peculiarly authoritative expert on the question, the Architect to the London County Council.

"29 TAVISTOCK SQUARE, W.C.,
October 15, 1900

"DEAR SIR,—I have read with the greatest interest your letter in the *Times* of Saturday. It is the first evidence I have seen that any unofficial person of position and influence, in questions of this kind, has thoroughly grasped the 'Housing Problem.'

"For more than twelve years, until my retirement early in last year, I was the Architect to the Metropolitan Board of Works and its successor the London County Council, and having had to deal with the rehousing question in every aspect, the whole of the threads of it were in my hands. Upon full consideration, I came to conclusions that appear to be identical with yours, and in the end I worked them into a practical scheme.

"It is difficult for a public officer to take the steps which may be taken by a person outside, in order to enforce his views. The Metropolitan Board and the County Council were committed to large schemes which must be worked

out ; and they were dealt with in the spirit for which you give the Council credit. At the same time many members were, and are, much dissatisfied with the result, after the extravagant cost.

" We have been gaining experience in a system which, if worked long enough, may do vast mischief, at great cost. My calculation of £50 per head, of persons displaced, but *not rehoused*, is being largely exceeded. I have seen and checked the estimates for a large scheme in a provincial city, which will cost over £80 a head, and others come out at a higher figure.

" The whole of the loss arises through the *hopeless attempt to rehouse near the old sites*. The whole loss will disappear if this is abandoned, the owners being left with their land to make the best of it ; while the public authority may, if they like, help the evicted tenants to find other lodgings, while the owners are enabled to combine for the improvement of their property. Yours very truly,

" THOMAS BLASHILL

" MR WILLIAM TALLACK "

Mr Blashill enclosed sundry papers on this subject written by himself, in one of which he had recorded—" We ought not to buy people out, or to compensate owners. When an area is declared insanitary, put the heaviest penalty on the admission of a fresh inhabitant and proceed to clear the area by finding accommodation for the inhabitants as near as possible. It would not cost £12, 10s. per head, probably not half so much. Let the owners make the best of their land for any purpose, so long as no insanitary houses are allowed to remain, or to be rebuilt. If you want to combine a street improvement, buy the land in the usual way."

Germany wisely compels the owners of insanitary property to put it in order at their own expense, or else to pay the State for doing so. Germany also appoints paid experts to assist the town authorities in the regulation of house construction.

The *Times*, in a leading article in harmony with Mr Blashill's opinion, remarked—"As we understand, the Local Authorities are empowered and enjoined to shut up every single insanitary dwelling as a public nuisance. There is no question of compensation, no burden upon the rates, no legal or financial difficulty of any kind, no reason why any insanitary dwelling should be occupied at this moment. But the Local Authorities will not, as a rule, enforce the law, except when it suits them to carry out some big and showy scheme of rebuilding, under cover of which all the public nuisances involved are paid for by the public, as if they were palaces. If insanitary houses were simply closed, ordinary economic causes would do the rest. The owners would have to rebuild, or to sell their rubbish in the market for what it is worth."

The evil of Urban Overcrowding is largely increased by "The Rural Exodus," which, in its turn, has several causes, amongst which is the depression of British agriculture, arising out of foreign competition, together with the defects in the Land Laws of the country.

In countries such as France, Denmark, Switzerland and Germany, where there is a large proprietary of the peasant class, there is less squalid poverty than in Britain, less intemperance and more inducement to remain on the land and to cultivate it to its utmost capacity. The Howard Association drew considerable public attention to the example of Denmark, in particular, in improving the condition and prospects of the rural population, and so checking tendencies to a Rural Exodus into towns.

The Danish farmers and dairy-owners have formed Co-operative Societies for the collection, sale and export of their produce and with great advantage to themselves. They have established hundreds of Credit Banks, under their own management, together with numerous co-operative steam dairies, bakeries, factories and mills. Several hundred cattle-breeding societies are scattered over Denmark. In most localities there are committees for promoting popular amusements, cheap concerts and cheap literature. Within a recent period Denmark has reclaimed several thousand square miles of previously waste land which had been regarded as almost valueless. And about five-sixths of her territory is now possessed by the peasantry and by small freeholders. The many scores of cheap, but very

efficient, "High Schools," or Rural Colleges, have had great influence in awakening the mass of the Danish people to this remarkable movement for the development of the national interests and happiness. They are conducted by private schoolmasters, but aided by small subsidies from the State.

Most other nations are far behind Denmark in these respects. It is further noteworthy that in this movement the Danish Government has kept comparatively in the background and has sought mainly to encourage popular initiative, private school enterprise and local self-help.

Of late years, Irish agriculturists have taken precedence of English farmers, in efforts to imitate the Co-operative Societies and Banks which have so greatly helped the rural districts of Denmark. An agricultural or produce Post would be very helpful both to Irish and British farmers and cottagers.

Amongst foreign experiences in dealing with the Poor and the Unemployed, Switzerland has also furnished an example specially worthy of study and imitation. She has endeavoured to check drunkenness by establishing a virtual state-monopoly of the distillation of brandy, or other alcoholic spirits, and also by an approximation to High License and by stringent regulations for the sale of liquor.

Whilst checking the mendicant and the idler, she provides, everywhere, gratuitous food and lodging for the honest traveller in search of work and at the same time carefully guards this humane provision against abuse.

She has established Labour Bureaus and Exchanges, where employers and persons seeking employ may be brought into communication with each other. And by the needful legislation, she has abundantly guarded the interests of work-people of every class.

For the aged and deserving poor she has provided retreats and homes which are the admiration of visitors and of permanent comfort to the inmates.

And in no country in the world is more considerate or more adequate care taken to prevent Discharged Prisoners from relapsing into crime.

Switzerland has furnished abundant technical training for the young of both sexes.

And the very large extent of handicraft labour, of many kinds, carried on in the homes of the Swiss peasantry, effectually tends to prevent any general Rural Exodus to the towns. The house industries thus engaged in are mainly watch-making, straw-plaiting, basket-work, wood carving and silk and embroidery work. There are, however, certain disadvantages even in this home industry, for want of needed supervision and protection of some of the toilers from being overworked.

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New Zealand also vies with Switzerland in regard to successful measures for the treatment and prevention of pauperism.

In the United Kingdom a more systematic extension of Small Holdings, or the Allotment System, would prevent a descent into pauperism in very many cases. So far as, during recent years, an increased adoption of that plan has taken place, encouraging results have followed. It supplies the poor with facilities for self-help, under more independent and enduring conditions than the Labour "Colonies." It enables the willing and industrious labourer to tide over periods of non-employment and to secure at least some supply of food, even when wages may be in abeyance. It has been well remarked that "with cabbages in his garden, a large pit full of potatoes, and flitches of bacon adorning his kitchen, the peasant may face winter with a bold heart." And the system need not involve costly schemes for a general supply of freeholds at the ratepayer's expense. Small allotments of land at ordinary rentals, meet the needs of the case.

But in addition to that system and also, and especially, in regard to the homes of the rural poor, there is urgently needed legislative provision for Land Law Reform and for the better security of the *home-tenure* of the English cottager. He should be protected against hurried or arbitrary eviction by his landlord. The wrongs often inflicted by such evictions are flagrant and cruel.

Emigration, on an extensive scale, is sometimes advocated as a means of diminishing Pauperism. But where foreign paupers are permitted, by wholesale, to come and take the places of the persons thus emigrated, there is no gain to the community at large.

Yet, of course, emigration is often a great help and benefit to the individuals, as such, who are sent abroad. And, in particular, it has been of much service to thousands of the juvenile waifs and strays of large towns, in cases where they have had a brief preliminary training in institutions such as those conducted by Dr Barnardo and by some of the

Liverpool philanthropists. Many of these young persons have thus been enabled to become useful and prosperous members of the community in their adopted country, and especially in the Canadian Dominion.

It was very gratifying to the Committee and Secretary of the Howard Association that their efforts to collect and diffuse information on questions relating to Pauperism and Over-crowding, repeatedly elicited the approval and commendation of leading authorities on those subjects, such as, for instance, the Right Hon. Sir John T. Hibbert, M.P., President of many Poor Law Conferences, Mr Hugh Owen, of H.M. Local Government Board, and Mr Vallance, many years Clerk to the Whitechapel Board of Guardians, with others.

A clergyman long and actively engaged amongst the poor of East London records:—"The best way of relieving the poor is to make them good Christians. When they have learnt the love of God and are really trying to serve Him, they become sober and industrious and in most cases can earn their own living."

These words are very true. But of recent times, the great masses of the population, both in the United Kingdom and other nations, have manifested a tendency to withdraw themselves from the Churches. This alienation has shown itself in the exceedingly small proportion of the working classes, as well as of the unemployed, who attend public worship. And it may reasonably be concluded that this great separation, between the Churches and the masses, has had a marked influence in increasing Pauperism and Intemperance.

If the question be raised—What is the cause of this alienation?—it is fairly open to question whether the Churches themselves have not a large share of responsibility in the matter. For some of the more intelligent of the alienated class complain that they have become wearied and disgusted with the burdensome complexity of creed and dogma, the mediæval conservatism, the long services and the practical

disrespect to the rights and capacities of the laity, largely characteristic of the Churches. But whether such complaints are well-based or not, at any rate the incontestable fact remains that a great gulf has opened between the Churches and the masses of population. The latter, as a body, have ceased attendance at public Christian worship ; although it would be very unfair and untrue to deny that many of them, at least, entertain an appreciative regard for the character and person of the Great Founder of Christianity. For unquestionably, in the homes and hearts of immense multitudes who never enter a place of worship, there is still going on a certain work of God's universal Spirit, producing innumerable acts of kindness and virtue.

The Churches have made desperate and diligent efforts to win back the deserters. Indeed Mr Charles Booth, in his work on "Religion in London," shows that some of these very efforts have defeated their own object. He says "The curse of all spiritual work is bribery." And he alleges that much of this bribery is being practised.

In concluding his work, Mr Booth remarks : "If the Churches, instead of demanding of the people—'How can we help you?'—were to ask, even of the poorest—'How can *you* help us?'—a road might open out."

Even the most destitute must not be regarded as a class merely to be "done for," from outside, but must, somehow, be induced, or stimulated, to contribute their own share of self-help, or moral effort.

And it is important to observe that in so far as, even in partial degree, the Churches have already acted upon this principle, of requiring help from the classes to be helped, they have had their comparative approximation to success. For instance, the Salvation Army has accomplished its vast services to humanity, both social and religious, not by means of middle-class, or highly educated evangelists, but by the youths and "lasses" of the poorer and more ignorant portions of the community. Indeed, to look higher, our Saviour Himself chose poor fishermen for His Twelve Apostles. The

great Methodist Revival of the 18th century was mainly indebted, under God, to the services of preachers and "class-leaders" in the humblest ranks of life. And similarly, with the Franciscan and other Roman evangelists, in the Middle Ages.

Perhaps one of the most instructive and successful experiments made, of late years, to enlist the co-operation of the poorer classes for their own social and religious elevation, is the "Adult School Movement," instituted mainly by the Society of Friends. It has been especially developed in Birmingham, Bristol, Bradford, Hull, Sheffield and London, in which places it has exercised a remarkable influence upon scores of thousands of persons, many of whom were previously indifferent to religion, or hostile to it, and more than a few of whom were drunkards and, with their families, living in squalor and degradation. Many of these "Adult Scholars" have thus been raised from misery to competence and comfort ; and some of them have been enabled to fill, with credit, positions in the magistracy and in municipal offices of various kinds.

Long before Mr Charles Booth made his suggestion, just quoted, the Friends had been acting on it. They invited the aid of their objects of good-will, as fellow-workers and equals. They organised the Adult Schools on a most democratic basis. The men who were invited to them were asked to take a friendly oversight over one another and to welcome others to enter their circle. The classes were constituted into committees for the mutual preparation of lessons and questions, and for visiting at the homes of their comrades, if sick or absent. They are encouraged to contribute small sums of money to form a sick-fund and to defray the cost of excursions and recreations. And a propagandism of Temperance and Thrift is maintained amongst them.

The common truths of unsectarian Christianity are generally studied in these Adult Schools, together with the frequent reading of the Bible. But their attenders

have not been importuned, with any sectarian pressure, to join the Society of Friends. And, in fact, very few of them have manifested a wish to do so. For, like the working-classes in general, they feel a hesitation, if not a dislike, to unite with any Church organisation based upon the authority of a number of dogmas, or binding beliefs. And although the Friends enjoy greater freedom, in this respect, than most other Christian Churches, yet even their body requires the practical acceptance of a variety of what they term their "peculiar principles," which, in their entirety, have often tended to repel outsiders. Many of the "Adult Scholars" have, however, united together, for religious objects, in Sunday Clubs, or mutual associations, with a simpler Christianity even than that of the Friends and more resembling that of the Primitive Church, based on the personal love of Christ, and in the freedom of the Spirit.

This Adult School movement has proved more popular amongst the working and poorer classes, in so far as it has been established, than almost any other attempt to win their hearty and continuing co-operation in their own moral and religious self-improvement. For they have thus been shown the way to become their own uplifters.

But even the democratic system of the Adult Schools has reached very few of the most degraded and of the utterly destitute—the class often termed "the Residuum."

These include the many myriads of persons who are either absolutely homeless, or whose tenements are not at all home-like, together with the whole tribe of beggars, regular tramps, willing paupers, habitual misdemeanants and professional criminals. The reclamation and elevation of this vast army, amid the community, constitutes a problem still, in great degree, awaiting a satisfactory solution.

Inasmuch as these persons form a large proportion of the Unemployed, and also of those Unemployable, at present, the radically preventive means already alluded to, in that connection, are also essential for diminishing the ranks of "the Residuum," as such.

A primary matter to be borne practically in mind, with respect to this class, is that their absence of homes, or of home-like comfort and accommodation, must necessarily and continuously drive them to the public-house for shelter and companionship, until they can find other and fairly congenial attractions of a better character. Hence a general establishment of such counter-attractions is of immense importance for the Residuum. And indeed for multitudes, also, of the poor belonging to a higher class, such means of help are essential, unless their chief companionship, amusement, music and comfort, are still to be only, or mainly, supplied to them by the public-house.

Then as to the ethical and religious elevation of the Residuum, the attempts at sectarian proselytism have glaringly failed. The class, as a body, constitute a great multitude of home-heathen. And, as a body, also, they entertain an ineradicable hatred and disgust in regard to the existing systems and complex dogmas of the Churches in general—a feeling however which is increasingly shared by many thoughtful persons in a much higher rank of life. Theology is, in its right place, a glorious science; but when its theories are arbitrarily forced upon men by Church authorities, they may become mischievous and repulsive.

A well-known and popular London clergyman used to be spoken of as “Hang Theology Rogers”—in consequence of his exclaiming “Hang Theology!” on one occasion, in reference to the accumulation of doctrines, ceremonies and beliefs authoritatively imposed on their members by nearly every Christian Church, and which, together with long services, frequent ministerial exclusiveness and class distinctions amongst professors of religions, have become intolerable to millions.

And yet there is reason to conclude that very many amongst those millions would be amenable to simpler and more fraternal presentations of the love of Christ, especially if accompanied by evidences of the practical sympathy which was so characteristic of the Saviour during His Incarnation.

Happily there has been manifested, of late years, both amongst individuals and Churches, an increasing desire to imitate their Divine Master's example, in efforts for the class in question, and also for those above them in the social scale ; as for instance by the establishment of various urban "Settlements," such as Oxford House, Mansfield House, Toynbee Hall and the like. The results, if not equal to expectation, have not been destitute of encouragement. Whilst the matter in question requires immensely more attention than has heretofore been given to it, the condition of things affords no ground for pessimistic despair.

There are many remedial measures and means, social, legislative, philanthropic and religious, which the people of Great Britain and some other nations, are increasingly willing to bring into operation, for the help of even the most degraded of the community. And in so far as these efforts are participated in by any persons, such will have the honour, and the reward, of being "workers together with God."

CHAPTER XV.

ACTUALITIES OF WEAK HUMANITY.

Men's Actual Circumstances—Actualities of Criminals and Others—Justice Hereafter—Heredity and Environment—Natural compared with Spiritual Perceptions—Satanic and Demoniatic Powers—Prayer—Human Claim on God—Universal Entry of Evil—Compulsory Goodness—The World a Training Ground—Eternal Education of the Race—Difficulties augment the Value of Effort—Present Opportunities not to be neglected—Damnation, or Loss—Biblical Assertions of Ultimate Universal Salvation—Election only for Service to Others—Human Solidarity a Claim for Universal Salvation—Often misapplied Texts—The Analogy of no Destruction in Nature—Human Frailty conditioning the Atonement and Salvation—Positive Aspects of the Atonement—The Most Precious Blood—Christ's Substitutionary Merits for our Justification and Sanctification—Negative Aspect of the Atonement—Misuse of the Parable of "The Prodigal Son"—The Automatic Operation of the Atonement, universally.—Temporary collateral presence of Sin and Goodness—The "Mystics," in relation to Christ's Death and Spirit—Initial Earthly Salvation—A Fear of God, and of Retribution, indispensable—The Biblical and Ethical Limitations of Forgiveness—Beneficence of Restorative Discipline—Need for Æonian Development and Growth—Heavenly Service—The Beatific Vision—The "Annihilation Theory" questionable—Deterrent Influence of Biblical Universalism—God's Love Infinitely and Eternally Triumphant.

ONE of the strongest impressions made upon the Author's mind, by his study and observation of matters connected with Crime, Vice and Pauperism, was an increasing conviction of the large amount of truth contained in the French proverb which says: "If we knew all, we should pardon all." That is to say, that the totality of the circumstances of poor weak mortals, as a race, constitutes a considerable degree of claim upon both Divine and human compassion and saving endeavour.

A peculiarly saintly man of the Nineteenth Century was George Müller, the founder of the remarkable, prayer-sustained group of Orphan Houses at Ashley Down, near

Bristol. His self-denial was immense, his labours were world-wide, and of a most practical nature. Yet the writer has heard him declare in his sermons: "We are all hell-deserving sinners, deserving punishment and nothing but punishment." This expression, "hell-deserving sinners," appeared to be a favourite one with him. But collaterally with a profound respect for the memory of that excellent man, there is abundant reason to differ from the conclusion respecting mankind and their destiny, arrived at by him and by a considerable proportion of other Christians. And the writer's experiences as Secretary of the Howard Association tended, year by year, to cause him to doubt the real Christian "orthodoxy" of such a view as that enunciated by Mr Müller.

The Author, when listening to an Australian Parliamentary debate, at Melbourne, heard a leading member of the Legislative Assembly exclaim, in reference to the moral condition of that city: "Do honourable gentlemen doubt what I say? Then I appeal to the Chapter of Actualities. Walk about our streets." These words have repeatedly recurred to the writer, as embodying an important principle. For it is, indeed, only by studying the actual conditions, temptations and surroundings of men and women, in the streets, in their homes, and in the world at large, that we can derive just ideas in regard to the various problems of their lives.

One of the writer's first visits to prisons was made to the large establishment then at Millbank, in London. As he was walking through the various wings of the prison, he came to a long corridor in which were a number of convicts classified as "weak-minded." The walls on each side were thickly padded with matting to the height of many feet, to prevent the men from dashing themselves, or one another, against the stone-work. Those prisoners had committed serious crimes, but, as the writer noticed the various obvious signs of physical and mental mal-development in them, the question forced itself upon him: "Supposing I had been born under such defective bodily conditions as these men,

and had experienced their subsequent privations and temptations, should not I also have probably committed some act which would have brought me, as a felon, instead of a visitor, to this place?"

An authority on criminals, Dr Thompson, formerly resident surgeon at the prison at Perth, has stated: "Intimate and daily experience, of many years amongst criminals, has led me to the conviction that in by far the greater proportion of offences, crime is hereditary." He added that this hereditary, or congenital tendency is, in most cases, associated with some *bodily* defect, "such as spinal deformities, stammering, imperfect organs of speech, club foot, cleft palate, hare lip, deafness, congenital blindness, paralysis, epilepsy and scrofula." (And the doctor might have also added, as to many criminals, the possession of very projecting ears.)

Captain W. T. Harvey, who was successively Governor of the prisons of Portsmouth, Millbank and Wormwood Scrubbs, informed the writer that his observations, also, had increasingly tended to convince him of the vast proportion of *hereditary* deficiency and weakness existing amongst criminals, as a class.

Of course such unfortunate persons must be, as far as possible, restrained from mischief. Society should be effectually protected from them. No compassion should permit them to pursue evil courses without restraint. But a just pity should cause them to be treated with a due consideration for their hereditary privations and with a chief regard for reformatory influences. And happily this is the increasing tendency of modern prison discipline.

But if, in this life, offenders are entitled to a just and merciful consideration of their actual circumstances, it would seem that this should also be the case in a future existence, and at the hands of the Supreme Judge and Father. And inasmuch as all mankind are, more or less, the subjects of hereditary weakness and defect, it may well be concluded that in the final disposal of them, by the Almighty, such

conditions of their creation and existence will be fairly and fully regarded.

For it is declared of Him: "Justice and judgment are the habitation of Thy throne; mercy and truth shall go before Thy face" (Ps. lxxxix.). But these two words, Justice and Judgment, have very often, by theologians, been viciously distorted from their real meaning, and indeed interpreted as signifying the precise opposite of their intrinsic purport. "Justice" has persistently been represented as irate vengeance, irrespective of equity. And "Judgment" also has, as frequently, been made to stand for mere condemnation, apart from desert, or right reason. Whereas the Bible chiefly represents it as signifying righteous government, discretion and fairness in administration.

The Psalmist declares, as one of God's blessings, that "He shall minister judgment to the people in uprightness" (Ps. ix.). And both the 96th and 98th Psalms emphatically call upon both Heaven and Earth to "Be *joyful* together before the Lord; for He cometh to judge the Earth with righteousness—and equity."

Incalculable and largely unknown, except to God, are the mighty, the often irresistible influences of Heredity and natural Temperament. These are widely operative in regard to Drunkenness, Sexual Immorality and other evils which constitute so large a proportion and perpetuating cause of sin and misery. How many men are naturally constituted with most inflammable and ungovernable passions and with the keenest susceptibilities to the fascinations of sex. And how difficult, often, does the dominance of environment, in the overcrowded city slums and elsewhere, render the maintenance of chastity. As to Drunkenness, Nature has implanted, in almost every human being, a craving for some kind of stimulant. But there are many persons of such weak constitutions that a single glass of any alcoholic beverage will either overcome their self-control, or excite an intense appetite for more liquor. And most insidiously, and almost unconsciously, does a life-long and

degrading slavery to drunkenness steal over many men and women, against their will and conscience.

These and other forms of human frailty sometimes have their source in morbid physical conditions which may be unknown to their subjects, or to those around them. A young man of the author's acquaintance, committed suicide, to the horror and astonishment of his relatives. He had previously borne a good general character, although he had manifested some eccentricity, and had relinquished the attendance of public worship and professed agnosticism. After his death, his brain was found to have been permeated with tubercles. Exactly the same condition of brain was found in the head of a man who had been executed, in Austria, for committing a series of horrible murders.

A striking illustration of the mighty power of prenatal influences was related by an American Quaker lady, an acquaintance of the writer. She had known a schoolmistress at Salt Lake City, who had, amongst her pupils, a young boy who appeared to be possessed by the very spirit of cruelty and murder. His constant delight was in torturing and killing animals, and his temper was most vicious. He became intolerable to his schoolfellows and had to be expelled. His mother, a Mormon, then said to the schoolmistress: "It is no wonder that that child is, as you say, filled with the spirit of murder; for during the months before his birth, I was myself full of such a spirit. My husband took to himself another wife, younger than me; and as I used to watch him caressing her, I hated her and wished to be able to kill her. For months, I cherished these hateful, murderous feelings. My poor boy's life and disposition were thus moulded before his birth."

This is but one of innumerable confirmations of the truth of the Psalmist's declaration: "Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me!" And so far as natural impulses and hereditary weaknesses are concerned, there was much suggestiveness in the question which a novelist puts into the mouth of a Cornish boy, whose

Methodist mother told him that unless he got a new heart, God would send him to hell: "But, mother, did not God make my *first* heart?"

Again, what immeasurable misery is occasioned by bad temper. Cross, nagging women and harsh, scolding men, have ruined millions of lives. Yet in a multitude of instances, this hateful, irritable temper, is itself largely caused by physical and hereditary conditions and especially by nervous exhaustion, morbid states of the brain, spine, or stomach, or by insufficient nourishment and the anxieties arising from poverty and affliction.

And yet a further source of human frailty and wrongdoing consists in the great contrast between the respective organs of our physical and spiritual life.

For the perception of natural objects, we have the organs of sight, hearing, touch, taste and smell, which bring to us more or less clear and sufficient impressions of the world around us. The same senses also easily become the means of strong and seductive temptations to evil.

But when we turn to the spiritual and invisible realm, to the things of God and Eternity, how dim are our perceptions, how doubtful, or obscure, are oftentimes, the presentations to our faith, how very weak our powers of righteousness, in comparison with our besetments to evil.

And even as to our knowledge of Historic Religion, we have to learn it, in great degree, from uncertain human agency, from very fallible teachers, or from a literature often difficult to understand. And it is only within a comparatively recent period that, by means of Printing and Popular Education, the Bible has become accessible to the masses. Ignorance and neglect have weighed down the bulk of mankind for thousands of years.

And as if all these things were not sufficient to facilitate man's descent towards evil, there is abundant scriptural and worldly evidence that there are, invisibly around us, mighty Satanic and Demoniatic influences. It is too common, even amongst persons of culture, to ridicule the idea of the ex-

istence of the Devil. Even some good men question it. The late American poet, John G. Whittier, in a conversation with the writer, said: "I am no believer in a personal Devil." And such a being is often said to be a mythic product of Magian or Zoroastrian imagination.

But unless we are to reject many of the plainest declarations of Christ and His Apostles, Satan is a reality. The Fourth Gospel informs us that, at least on three occasions, Christ spoke of him as "the Prince of this World." St Paul declared that Christ called himself especially to turn men "from the power of Satan to God." Again he spoke of "the wiles of the devil" and of demoniac "rulers of the darkness of this world" (Eph. vi.).

In the Indian seas there are large cuttle fish which are said to catch other fish by emitting an inky flood which prevents them from seeing their foe, or from escaping. And, similarly, if Satan be as subtle as the Bible declares him to be, it is quite in keeping with that character to cause men to disbelieve in, or forget, his own existence, and so fall into his snares.

St Paul's description of "the darkness of this world" is abundantly confirmed by the daily and hourly witness of ordinary life. In the world of fashion, of politics, of business, of pleasure and even of education, how slight, comparatively, is the thought of God and Eternity! The same absence of thought of those supreme realities also characterises the chief proportion of popular literature. Satan has evidently succeeded, largely, in blinding the eyes of men and women "lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ should shine unto them" (2 Cor. iv.). Easy indifference to spiritual and eternal actualities is the common form of this "darkness." It seemed to envelope, all their lives, even such acute intellects as those of John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer.

Christ and His Apostles emphasised, in their example and teaching, one means, in particular, by which men can exercise a certain influence in counteracting Satan. And that power is Prayer, persevering, humble prayer, in Christ's

name, both against evil and for Divine help. The laws of Nature are, ordinarily, inviolable. "They stand fast for ever and ever." And this absolute uniformity of Nature is a vast blessing. Without it, human calculations and arrangements would be futile. Yet there is both Biblical and historic evidence tending to prove the truth of Christ's words—"the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence," occasionally, even in reference to God's ordinances of physical Law. The marvels, the miracles of Prayer are countless.

Almost every Epistle of St Paul contains a statement of his own intercessory prayers for Church and individuals. He knew that the power of such prayer was not merely imaginary. And there is reason to believe that if men in general had been more prayerful, many of their calamities might have been obviated, either wholly, or in part. The Poet had much warrant for exclaiming—"More things are wrought by Prayer than this world dreams of." The principal revivals of spiritual life in the Churches have been preceded by special and united prayer, and the most successful preaching and the most remarkable individual conversions have usually been consequent upon a similar fervent intercession, by one or more agents.

But the exercise of this mighty influence, with God and against Satan, is a feature of the strenuous life. It is a part of Christian soldiership. It is a "wrestling" even with God, as by Jacob of old. It is a persevering "fervent labour," as by the Colossian Epaphras. But it secures eminent results.

Whatever conclusion may be arrived at, however, as to the particular question of Satanic or Demoniatic power, it is at any rate, abundantly manifest, from the world's great "Chapter of Actualities," that weak humanity, both by powerful prenatal influences and innumerable post-natal environments, is placed, from the outset, on a moral inclined plane, and has not had a fairly level start. To use a colloquial expression, every man is born heavily handicapped, from the ethical and theological point of view.

In a letter in "the Friend" (in 1893) the present writer remarked: "Amongst earnest Christians, there is an increasing feeling, or rather conviction, that in true justice, it is not only God who has claims upon us, for our grateful, filial love, but also that we have just claims upon Him, for mercy and help, inasmuch as He has brought us into being without the opportunity of making an *unbiased* choice between good and evil; for we are born more prone to evil than to good, and are the inheritors of the fallen tendencies of a thousand generations of poor fallible mortality."

All these apparently adverse influences have caused error and sin to be practically universal besetments of human nature; the proof of which is, that all men, except the one Divine Saviour, have actually fallen into sin. Indeed the Bible tells us that our first parents were the first sinners. So weak was even their moral constitution, that they yielded to the earliest presentation of temptation. Many theologians have spoken much of "the Fall" of Adam and Eve (which, however, the New Testament only slightly notices), but in reality they had no particular height to fall from. They began life on a low moral level; and, but for coming into conflict with evil, they and their posterity would probably have continued to be mere infants, as to any spiritual stature. They had been innocent, as ordinary babes, but they had no developed power of righteousness; because that could only come by a resistance to temptation and a conquest of evil. It seems amazing that there is still, amongst mankind, and especially amongst the Churches, so much hesitation, or difficulty, in regarding the permitted *temporary* existence of what is termed evil, as one of the grandest blessings to humanity.

For all these seemingly adverse influences, prenatal and post-natal, to which allusion has just been made, appear to have been constituted, in conjunction with the offers and gifts of God's universal Spirit, to be the very means and conditions of placing mankind in a position for ultimately developing powers of moral excellence unspeakably blessed.

We may reverently conclude that the so-called "Fall in Adam," was no unforeseen or unordained occurrence—no thwarting, or hindrance, of the grand and gracious purposes of Omnipotent Beneficence, but that, on the contrary, it was (just what an Apostle declared of Christ's Crucifixion itself) an essential element in "the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God."

The poet F. W. Faber exclaims :—

"Greater good because of evil,
Larger mercy, through the Fall."

Goodness, at least human goodness, is absolutely impossible, except by efforts of volition and of struggle for victory over evil. "Blessed is he that overcometh!" is a guiding principle of man's progress. And as to the mystery of Pain and Suffering, it is only by some degree of suffering, or privation, that men and women acquire the precious gift of Sympathy with others. If there was no pain, where would be the call, or the occasion, for Pity? If there was no source of discouragement and irritation, how could Patience enter? If there were no possibilities of cruelty, or violence, there would be no place for Mercy and Compassion. Every manifest moral deficiency tends to suggest efforts, or prayers, to supply its absence with what is right. The privations and the frailties of men are amongst the chief eliciting causes of the best feelings and the most beneficent labours of their pitying brethren.

A modern Theist, Rev. Charles Voysey, says (in his book on the "Mystery of Pain, Death and Sin"): "The only cause of humility is a sense of our own unworthiness, in other words a sense of sin. If we had never sinned, we could never be humble, either towards God, or towards men."

And Mr G. Baldwin Thayer, in his "Theology of Universalism," instructively observes: "If there were no sin, we should lose sight of half the glory of God's character, and of the beautiful and tender relations which He sustains to us."

How precious are the myriad-fold efforts, of *spontaneous* attempt, to diminish suffering and diffuse kindliness. How admirable are the strenuous struggles, the prayful endeavours, age after age, of well-concerned men, to promote religious and social progress! But if these blessings were compulsorily thrust upon the nations, how little, comparatively, would they then possess of interest or moral value.

Let us imagine that God were to interpose absolutely and miraculously, in regard to man's moral freedom, by sending Angels to govern the world, with irresistible powers of control over all the ordinary manifestations of evil influences. Let us suppose that these omnipotent angels could prevent all war and crime; punish, or restrain, all persons engaged in tempting mankind to drunkenness, impurity, and other vices; chastise, or paralyse, all the corrupters of national, municipal or other executive administration, effectually intimidate every oppressor; and terrify the scorner and the sceptic.

What would be the result?

It would, doubtless, immediately diminish, to a vast extent, the sum of the world's wickedness and suffering. But at what a cost! For it would, at the same time, deprive good men and women of the most urgent incentives to improve the condition of their fellow-creatures. It would remove many of the finest opportunities for the development of ethical and religious heroism. It would, by placing men in a sort of moral "go-cart," check and dwarf their perseverance and prevent their enthusiasm. It would greatly diminish the existing necessity for prayer.

By making the religious world less of a Church Militant, it would also disqualify it, in the same degree, for the characteristics needful to secure the greatest successes of a Church Triumphant. In short, it would lower and weaken the whole tone of human society. And inasmuch as God might have interposed thus far, to prevent evil by force, it would imply His direct responsibility for the evil still remaining.

But happily, the existing permission of conditions tending to develop moral energy and stimulate to victorious conflict with evil, renders this life and world a peculiarly advantageous training ground for a preliminary stage of the eternal education of the human race.

Even the constitution of outward Nature is also rendered subservient to this grand educative process. The late Sir Henry Thompson, Bart., M.D., remarked in the *Fortnightly Review*, under the heading of "The Unknown God"—"It is next to certain that had the human race received at any time a revelation, say, of the means of obtaining fire, or of the elements of agriculture, or of the means of obtaining complete relief from suffering which modern science has discovered, man would never have become the efficient and highly endowed creature he is. He has fought his own way throughout; has overcome every obstacle himself, and passed through an educational course of the most perfect kind—self-taught, not helped." This truth is also implied in the Divine declaration: "Cursed is the ground, *for thy sake*."

Thus, too, storms and shipwrecks teach men to build stronger houses and ships. Even earthquakes and pestilences may be partially guarded against; whilst conflagrations, famines, and other calamities, not only help to develop preventive skill, but also call forth widely extended efforts of beneficial compassion. And those terrible events in the history of human cruelty—the martyrdoms and persecutions of innumerable good men and women—have, even in this life, to say nothing of the consequent glories in a future existence, called forth and developed marvellous manifestations of heroism, of fidelity and love to Christ. Most truly has "the noble Army of Martyrs" a prominent place in the everlasting *Te Deum* of humanity to the God of all grace, who gave such splendid powers of suffering allegiance, in answer to the prayers and efforts of His tribulated children.

It is recorded: "And God saw everything that He had

made, and behold it was very good " (Gen. i.). The ultimate and grandly comprehensive confirmation of those emphatic words must await the revelations of Eternity. But meanwhile there is abundant evidence in support of that statement, recognisable by those observers who do not take a merely superficial view of the drift and nature of human endeavour.

And we may hopefully trust that the grand work of the salvation and moral development of the human race, as a whole, is not limited to this life, but may be regarded as being only in its initial stage here. As Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, observes: "God has all Eternity to work in." He can be infinitely patient, because eternal. For when He may have occupied a thousand ages, in carrying out any portion of His purposes, there still remains as much duration available as at the outset. There can be no such thing as loss or waste of time in the vast but slow operations of eternal energy.

John G. Whittier said to the writer: "When I consider the difficulties and temptations of humanity, I do not wonder at the evil, so much as at the good, that there is in the world." Through the silent and inconspicuous influences of the Holy Spirit, there are, in millions of homes, all over the world, men, women, and children whose lives, however defective in some respects, furnish, year after year, the blossomings of affection, patience, self-control, and other fine traits of character. And all these good gifts are from God. Nothing good comes from the Devil. Very many men are, by God's help, *good* in relation to one another. But all men are *sinful* in regard to God Himself, and in view of the infinite, spiritual and moral distance between themselves and Him. St Paul's words about Abraham's comparative righteousness, as a man amongst other men, are instructive: "If Abraham were justified by works, he *hath* whereof to glory: *but not before God*" (Rom. iv. 2).

It should be especially borne in mind, that wherever goodness is found amid conditions such as those of the

slums, or of special temptation, it is doubly creditable to its possessor, and also redounds, in particular, to the honour of Divine grace. An affectionate mother of a family containing a crippled or diseased child, feels a peculiar satisfaction in the efforts put forth by that little one to please her by the manifestation of any exertion or service which involves comparatively greater exertion than would be the case with health and strength. And similarly we may believe that God beholds with special fatherly regard the myriad forms of moral effort put forth by humanity in its difficulties and weaknesses.

It is both an animating and an alarming consideration, that whilst time and occasion permit, we should not let slip the present opportunities of acting out our love to God, by serving Him and His creatures in the presence of influences hostile to Him. For, in a future life, it is possible that some, at least, of these services, may not be open to us.

How many a newly-enlisted soldier, in time of peace, may envy the veterans who have, on the field of battle, been able to win honours and to make proof of their valour and loyalty.

We are told that there will be memories, in the future world, of the past. The words "Son, remember!" in the Parable, are instructive. And it may be a source of humiliation and deep regret to some souls, hereafter, to remember that, when in their earthly bodies, they had been utterly ungrateful, neglectful and disobedient towards their loving Lord and Saviour. Such painful memories may be part, however, of a useful and necessary discipline. But all the same, it is eminently desirable for everyone to avoid in this life, as far as possible, the carelessness and wickedness which may involve sad awakenings and poignant regrets, hereafter, over irrevocably lost opportunities of Christian soldiership. For a Church Triumphant implies the previous existence and conflicts of a Church Militant.

"Fight the good fight, with all thy might!
Christ is thy strength and Christ thy right.

Lay hold on life and it shall be
Thy joy and crown eternally."

Christ said : " What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul ? " Perhaps this result is that which is implied by the word " damnation " literally meaning *loss* (from *damnum*, the Latin equivalent of the same word). It may possibly involve a permanent or long continuing limitation, or dwarfing, hereafter, of the joys and energies of the spiritual and personal life. The opportunities of special service to God, afforded by the temporary existence of evil in this world, are perhaps being adequately prized and utilized by comparatively few persons. And this may be the meaning of those words : " Strive to enter in at the strait gate. Strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life (in its *highest* future forms) and few there be that find it."

The Scriptures plainly declare that Christ died for *all* men ; that " He is the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe " ; that " He gave Himself a ransom for all," though it is added that the full extent of this ransom is only " to be testified in due time." He Himself said : " And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me." And St Paul reiterates five times in a single chapter (Rom. v.) that Christ's grace will be "*much more*" comprehensive and effectual than the results of man's sin and disobedience. He also states (in the Epistle to the Ephesians) that ultimately, " in the ages to come," there will be manifested God's sublime " eternal purpose " in Christ Jesus, namely that — " In the dispensation of the fulness of times, He might gather together in one, *all* things in Christ, both which are in Heaven and which are on Earth, even in Him." St John, in proclaiming Christ as a propitiation for our sins, adds emphatically : " And not for ours only, but also for the sins of *the whole world*" (1 John ii. 2).

The doctrine of Election may be understood as confirmatory of ultimate universal salvation, and as having nothing

whatever to do with mere Calvinistic assumptions of correlative "reprobation."

For just as the father of a large family may devote special care and expense to the education of an elder son or daughter, in order that such may thereby be qualified the better to help the other members of that family, so God, the Supreme Father, has gifted some men and women with peculiar advantages and talents, from their birth, in order that in this life (and probably in the next also) they may serve their fellow-creatures advantageously. St James expressly states that the Elect, or "the Saints," are thus merely the recipients, in anticipation, of grace that shall ultimately be of general bestowment. For he says that God, "of His own will, begat us, with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of *first fruits* of His creatures" (Jas. i. 18).

The "Larger Hope" derives special support from a consideration of the Solidarity of the Human Race. The attainments, in goodness, of the best portion of mankind, are inseparably dependent upon the facilities afforded to them, by other men less favourably situated, for a virtuous life, and also upon the labours, the achievements and the sufferings of previous generations. It is recorded that at the Siege of Badajoz, during the Peninsular War, the British soldiers were only enabled to scale the ramparts by mounting upon the heaped corpses of their comrades. And similarly, the prominent professors of Christianity owe their advantages, in great degree, to the sacrifices and privations of multitudes of their fellow creatures. Some of those whom that modern cynic, Thomas Carlyle, contemptuously termed "the guano races" of the world, have served as slaves, pioneers and contributors, to the more privileged nations.

Some one spoke of an eminent but wealthy Christian as "a man who went to heaven in a coach and four." And the ease, the peace and prosperity which help to enable many other comfortably pious individuals to become such, are dependent upon innumerable past and present contributors and upon the myriad pioneers who wrought out the

civilisation and conditions of the nations in which those good men have been enabled to serve God more apparently than others. Hence to every Christian there is a double significance in the question—"What hast thou that thou didst not *receive*?" Hence also, it may well be trusted that God, who is "no respecter of persons," but the Lord of supreme justice and equity, will finally grant a full salvation to those who, on earth, were less privileged than others, and whose more unfavourable conditions were, in degree, a part of the very means of enabling the comparatively virtuous to become what they were.

A friend of the writer once remarked to him—"I believe every man's religion is a matter of geographical accident." And there is a certain element of truth in this conclusion. For millions of the race are born into paganism, superstition and squalor. And yet those millions may, even now, exercise some useful functions in connection with the Solidarity of the Race.

- Is it at all reasonable to suppose that the glorious privileges of Salvation are to be confined to those persons only, who, through special grace from God Himself, and through exceptional exemption from other men's temptations and privations, were deemed, when on earth, "the righteous?" St Peter twice tells us that Christ "went and preached unto the spirits in prison" (1 Pet. iii. 19, and iv. 6), by which we may probably understand those in Hades or "Hell." Then if He did this once, He may do it again and again, any needful number of times. Being, supremely, the Good Shepherd, will he not, in the case of every poor, wandering, or strayed soul, "go after that which is lost, *until He find it?*" (St Luke xv. 4). A Persian is said to have put up the prayer—"Oh God! be merciful to the wicked; for Thou hast already been merciful to the righteous, by *making* them righteous!" And often, how slight, comparatively, is the amount of *volitional* difference between the righteous (especially multitudes of the professedly such) and the openly wicked.

Augustine and many subsequent theologians have recognised human solidarity, in assuming for all men the penal consequences of Adam's sin; but they have refused to recognise the same solidarity in connection with the Second Adam's sinlessness and merits. This is most unfair and unwarrantable on their part.

The few texts in the Bible which appear to warrant a view opposed to universal salvation, all fairly admit of an explanation in harmony with the general tenor of the Gospel. No real inspiration can make God contradict Himself. All true inspiration must be harmonious.

The words translated "everlasting" and "eternal" in reference to future retribution, are admitted by competent scholars, to signify "age-lasting," or "æonian," rather than never-ending. The references to "fire," "furnace," "burning" and "death," are used in some parts of the Bible in a spiritual, or ethical, as well as in a literal sense. And it is unreasonable, therefore, to limit them to a merely literal sense where they are used in regard to future retribution. The reference, in Mark ix., to the undying worm and the unquenchable fire, is a quotation from the last verse of the last chapter of Isaiah, on referring to which, it is seen that it relates to "carcasses" and not to living beings. The Bible, and even our Saviour's own language, abounds in Orientalisms and paradoxes, which must not be accepted with the literal accuracy of Western speech and style.

The Apostle Paul told his hearers, at Miletus, that he had not shunned to declare unto them "the whole counsel of God." But in all the thirteen Epistles attributed to him there is a remarkable reticence as to the nature and penalties of Hell.

There is a noteworthy, but comparatively seldom regarded, suggestion as to man's future state, afforded by the analogies of Nature. There is a real sense in which there is no possibility of destroying a single atom, of the great world of matter. Even the operation of fire only causes an apparent destruction of the subjects of combustion. They are but

resolved into their original chemical elements. Then if God has thus secured the absolute indestructibility of material and inanimate atoms, is it at all likely that he will permit any one of the billions of souls, for whom Christ has yielded up His own most precious blood, to perish everlastingly?

Both the hereditary frailties and the surviving difficulties of poor humanity are important matters to be taken into account in any just consideration, or doctrine, of Redemption. But until recent years, these great actualities have been comparatively disregarded, in that particular connection.

Inasmuch as the Creator Himself appears to have permitted the temporary existence of evil in this world, for ultimate good, we may believe that His justice, as well as His love, requires that the infinite distance between Himself and sin should be made manifest *otherwise* than at the expense of weak humanity. And we learn that it was accomplished at the cost of the sufferings of "God in Christ" and the pouring out of His most precious blood.

And as man has been *born* with strong tendencies to moral frailty, it may be inferred that he could never *deserve*, justly, the terrible measure of punishment, in a future existence, which some widely prevalent theories declare would have been his destiny, unless Christ had suffered an equivalent penalty for him.

Elaborate dogmas about Christ reconciling the Father to men, or in any way altering God's eternal purposes towards them, must be utterly inconsistent with any true conception of the absolute *unity* of the Godhead. For God does not consist of three "Persons," in the *modern* sense of separate individualities, but of three *manifestations* of the *one* and *undivided* Eternal Spirit. The Father is that Spirit; Christ is that Spirit, under human relations; and the Holy Ghost is that same Spirit.

Christ's death is declared to be a propitiation, that is to say a manifestation of self-sacrificing love calculated to propitiate, or win, or purchase, or redeem, alienated souls; thus

"reconciling the world unto Himself"—not reconciling God to the world, but the world to God.

As Lord Macaulay remarks: "God, the uncreated, the incomprehensible, the invisible, attracted few worshippers. A philosopher might admire so noble a conception, but the crowd turned away in disgust from words which presented *no image* to their minds. It was before Deity embodied in a human form, walking among men, partaking of their infirmities, leaning on their bosoms, weeping over their graves, slumbering in the manger, bleeding on the Cross, that the prejudices of the Synagogue and the doubts of the Academy and the pride of the Portico and the swords of Thirty Legions were humbled in the dust."

It may be of general advantage to Christendom, that a greatly increased regard should be directed to the *positive* aspects of the Atonement, as compared with its *negative* influences. By these positive aspects, we may understand its efficacy in the realm of gift and bestowment, as expressed in the prophetic words of the Psalmist, so peculiarly applicable to Christ—"Thou hast ascended on high. Thou hast led captivity captive. Thou hast received *gifts* for men; yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell among them. Blessed be the Lord who daily loadeth us with benefits, even the God of our Salvation" (Psalm lxviii. 18, 19). These two verses strikingly illustrate the *positive* blessings of the Atonement, as *gifts* merited by Christ and given to us, not merely in pardon for past sin, but also in spiritual help and sanctification, permanently.

St Paul indicated the positive (as well as negative) effect of the Atonement, when he declared to the Corinthians, "I delivered unto you, *first* of all, that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins—and that He was buried—and that He rose again (1 Cor. xv.)." This comprehensive statement briefly sets forth the one, but threefold, Everlasting Gospel of supremely Good Tidings.

Firstly, Christ died for our sins. Sin (a word radically associated with "*sunder*") is moral distance, or separation,

from God's holiness and love. Christ's death on the Cross pre-eminently displayed this holiness and love ; and in proportion as His voluntary sufferings and self-sacrifice are dwelt upon, they tend to lessen this separation and, by producing grateful love, substitute positive spiritual union, instead of alienation of soul.

And as men are, in any degree, practically affected and contritely touched by God's love in Christ, they become, "washed in His blood," that is to say, measurably cleansed from evil in life and action, and in so far, "saved" from sin, or separation.

"See, from His head, His hands, His feet,
Sorrow and love flow, mingling, down ;
Did e'er such love and sorrow meet,
Or thorns compose so rich a crown ?"

It is to be regretted that some modern preachers, and others, habitually avoid reference to the blood of Christ and even express a dislike to the expression. Now while it is possible to use the word "blood" with such familiarity, or in such a connection, as may legitimately cause a feeling of repulsion to the hearer, yet, on the other hand, that term has the noblest associations with the self-devotion of Martyrs and Heroes and with the sacrifice of life, for others, apart from the natural operation of age and disease. When used in relation to Christ, it conveys an idea of the most intimate possible contact with our humanity, in the greatest intensity of its emotions, its weaknesses, and its sufferings.

It is most prominent in the New Testament, being constantly reiterated by the Apostles. And not only so, but it is declared that the most reverent and thankful reference to it, constitutes a special feature of the life of the Redeemed, in Heaven, who, in prostrate adoration, ascribe praise to their Lord and Saviour—"For Thou wast slain and hast redeemed [bought] us to God, *by Thy blood*, out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation" (Rev. v. 9). The most effective and soul converting preaching, in every Church, gives this prominence to the Incarnation and the Blood, as well as the Resurrection, of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Secondly, Christ was *buried*. By thus condescending to "taste *death* for every man," and even to enter, as a cold, silent corpse, into the tomb, He showed the extremest sympathy of God with humanity, through the medium of that most Sacred Body which the Supreme Father had filled, "without measure," with His own Eternal Spirit. For death brings us to our lowest and most dreaded condition

of helplessness and nothingness. And as men dwell on Christ's own participation in that lowest depth of human destiny, a feeling of real gratitude is likely to be elicited, or given. And in proportion as this becomes the case, the soul is drawn nearer to God, in love and reverence, and so, again, sin is, so far, saved from, and positive good substituted.

Thirdly, Christ *rose again*. And, by His resurrection, not only was the stone of His own sepulchre rolled away, but the great weight of despair, doubt and helplessness, that had weighed upon humanity, as a whole, was also rolled away, by the infusion of a new and well-founded hope of immortality. This infusion of hope, this strengthening of faith was, and is, a further grand gift from God in Christ, tending to draw men's hearts nearer to Himself, and so, again, to lessen the previous sin, or separation. And the risen Christ ministers the indispensable aid of His Holy Spirit, or Presence, to His children; and will do so evermore, thus leading them on towards the perfection of complete union with His own goodness.

These *positive* spiritual gifts and ethical influences conferred upon men, by the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, may perhaps be considered as the chief, or at least as the most self-demonstrating operation of the Atonement, or reconciling Salvation, wrought by him. They do not tend to raise in the soul that sense of unfair and undeserved infliction which so widely attends the proclamation of what is termed the Penal Theory of Atonement.

One of the most profound of modern theologians, the Rev. W. L. Walker (of Laurencekirk, N.B.) remarks, in his book "The Cross and the Kingdom,"—"There was nothing penal in Christ's sufferings. This was one of the chief errors in Dr Dale's presentation of the Cross."

But in a sense infinitely more just, Christ *was* a substitute for humanity, on the Cross. For, by the voluntary offering up of His own sinless life and the measureless merits of His perfect righteousness, He placed on that great altar, a *gift* to the honour of God's perfect moral Law, so vast, so bound-

less in its deserts and intrinsic preciousness, as to cover and make amends for all human demerit. Thus He became, in a sublimely munificent degree—"the Lord *our* righteousness."

Again, as "the second Adam," as "*the* Son of Man," or the *pre-eminent representative of the whole race*, and of all human solidarity, He made satisfaction, and "much more" than satisfaction, for all the absence of righteousness consequent on the "Fall" of "the first Adam," who, also, was a representative of human solidarity, in its original weakness. So that the sacrifice of Christ sets forth God's fairness, love, justice and perfect righteousness. The Epistle to the Romans has the declaration of this truth for its main object.

And in this substitutionary merit, God's children have a vast and inexhaustible treasure. It may be humbly compared to an unlimited credit account, opened in a solvent bank, for the use of any persons who choose to draw upon it. This substitutionary merit of Christ's infinite goodness, on our behalf, constitutes the ground of Justification, or the grant of filial favour and access, by the sinner, to his holy God and Heavenly Father. And it is independent of the weaknesses and frequent falls of the sinners who plead it. It is a "finished work of Christ"—"gloriously complete"—and eternally so. It is not at all affected by the various moods and tenses of the moral vicissitudes of frail humanity.

Dr W. Robertson Nicoll very instructively remarks (in his book "*The Return to the Cross*")—"One of the great errors of modern Evangelicalism has been to identify Justification and Pardon. Justification is more than Pardon. It means something that is done *once for all*, and the shelter of which falls upon past, present and future. It means that the believer is delivered from condemnation by the *satisfaction* of the Law; and the Law no longer condemns but acquits and pronounces just."

Justification, however, only opens (yet permanently and irrevocably) the door of access, for the sinner, to God's favour. By warranting pardon, to the uttermost, it furnishes

opportunity for *beginning* a new life, or for *renewing* former allegiance to God. It is a *gift*, secured, for ever, by Christ's death.

But Sanctification is also essential and is another of the precious *positive gifts* obtained by Christ's merits. It is the essential *growth* of the soul, its indispensable development in righteousness ; and it must go on indefinitely. It is only to be obtained, and maintained, by the constantly renewed aid and presence of the Spirit of the risen Lord ; and its needful conditions are daily prayer, the use of the Holy Scriptures and sincere efforts of loving obedience to God's manifested will.

The principle of substitution, or vicariousness, or mediation, in Christ's atonement, receives a very humble illustration, and vindication, by its similar recognition in human Governments. Thus the merits of Joan of Arc, as the deliverer of France from the English, were recognised by the exemption of her native village from taxation. For centuries, the local tax-gatherers inscribed in their books, opposite the name of that place, the words " Remitted, for the Maid's sake." In the name of Christ's infinite substitutionary merits, we may hopefully and availingly pray for both spiritual and temporal help from God. Further, we may well believe that the benefits arising from Christ's merits are retrospective as well as prospective and extend back to Adam as well as forward to the end of Time. What a sublime significance does this impart, to our Lord's words at the Last Supper—" This is My body, which is *given for you !* "

Whilst the effect of the Atonement (or at-one-ment) thus largely consists in the positive production, or gift, of " a right spirit " of love, gratitude, humility, kindness, it also has a *negative* aspect. For pre-eminently, it shows that sin is the *negation, or opposite, of good* and that it is utterly incompatible with God's acceptance, or with entry into His Kingdom.

The Rev. W. L. Walker remarks (in his work already

referred to) "A love that did not manifest its sense of the evil of sin—and *impress this fact on men*—would be no holy love. It would not be real love at all." And Dr Newman Hall says (in his treatise on "Sacrifice")—"In Christ's holy life, and by his vicarious sufferings, He proclaimed the holiness of God and the majesty of Law far more effectively, because He was *Divine*, than the punishment of any number of mere finite creatures could proclaim them. And He did more; He manifested at the same time the *love* of God." While it is declared that "the chastisement of our peace" was upon Christ, yet this is not to be taken in the sense of punishment on a criminal. For here, again, Dr Hall remarks—"Punishment is necessarily associated with the *guilt* of him who suffers. God was always 'well pleased' with Christ. Even on the Cross, it was faith and love crying "*My God! My God!*"

Sin, as the negation and opposite, of all goodness, is but too universal in the world. And how horrible and squalid are its full developments, in murder, blasphemy, violence, cruelty, selfish lust, greed, recklessness, oppression, and pitilessness. How infinitely hostile and hateful to the pure soul and immaculately crystalline holiness of Christ are these and the other forms of evil.

The parable of the Prodigal Son, although often adduced as an illustration of the fatherhood of God, in granting pardon unconditionally, will hardly bear that interpretation. In the first place, it is one of three parables, in the same chapter, describing the joy attendant on finding "that which was lost." But secondly, both the prodigal and his father were *sinner*s. Even the latter had no standard of spiritual perfection, or of inviolable law, to vindicate. But God, the Supreme Father, *has* such a standard. And thirdly, a man may, like the prodigal, be pardoned unconditionally, without, at the same time, receiving any resulting sense of the *intrinsic evil* of his deed. How many bad sons are pardoned by human fathers, but without any real conviction, or even relinquishment, of sin.

The operation of the Atonement is, happily in large degree, *automatic* and *self-expressive*. And it might reasonably be expected that so far as any "plan of salvation" can be understood by the finite minds of men, it must commend itself to them with a simplicity and comprehensibility practically accessible to the world of humanity. And this is just what we do find.

Myriads of books and sermons respecting the Atonement have been issued, and how very much of this mass of doctrine is more or less unintelligible and unimpressive. In a certain degree, "great is the mystery of the Godhead" and of the Cross. Nevertheless, it has, throughout the ages, and in all lands, practically proved itself to be the grandest power for winning men to godliness and happiness. This is by the direct and intelligible appeal of a voluntarily-suffering, Divine Saviour to the hearts of men and also, and further, by kindling their hopes by Christ's resurrection and spiritual visitations.

William Carey, that prince of missionaries, recorded—"So far as our experience goes, we must freely acknowledge that *every* Hindoo among us, who has been gained to Christ, has been won by the astonishing and *all-constraining love* exhibited in our Redeemer's propitiatory death. O, then, may we resolve to know nothing, among Hindoos and Mussulmen, but Christ, and Him crucified!" Mr Carey also says "The Moravians attribute all their success to the preaching of the *death* of our Saviour," amongst the ignorant Esquimaux, and Negroes and others.

Yet it is very possible, and too common, for us to entertain comparatively clear intellectual opinions as to the Atonement, *without* its effectually influencing our hearts and lives. Satan is so apt to "Take away the good seed" out of our hearts. And there is a far too prevalent tendency, in perhaps all the Churches, to attach an undue value to the intellect, in reference to this and other matters connected with religion. But the Bible declares that it is the special feature of the New Covenant, or Christian Dispensation,

that it appeals to the *affections*. For "with the *heart* man believeth unto salvation." And God says—"I will put my law into their hearts."

This brings us to the necessity of a constant recourse to God, by prayer, for the necessary assistance to this end. Continuously, our sanctification and spiritual growth must be *His* work, to the humbling and contrition of our own souls. We are commanded "to work out our own salvation," nevertheless it is added that "it is *God that worketh in* you, both to *will* and to *do*, of His good pleasure."

But God *has* thus wrought in innumerable souls, in all ranks of life, by the presentation of the story of the Cross. Even the silent testimony of a picture, or image, of the Crucifixion, has often preached the Gospel, feelingly, to humble and unlearned beholders. There is truth in the ancient hymn—"Our God is *reigning* from the Tree."

In Britain, during the last half of the Nineteenth Century, in particular, that great national blessing, the Anglican Church, has borne a special and increased witness to the Incarnation and the Cross; and it has in consequence reaped a fruitful harvest of success, in the life-long service of myriads of lives to the honour of God and the best interests of humanity. Some other Churches have also found their best spiritual efficiency and results to follow in the proportion in which Christ has been lifted up by them.

The contemplation of God's love, in Christ's death and sufferings, is a chief available means of convincing men of sin. For what Christian can venture to say that, in his inmost heart, he is not still ungrateful, cold and hard, in comparison with the feelings which *should* adequately reciprocate that infinite love? And such a conviction is an essential for spiritual progress. The feeling of sin and shortcoming is a necessary step towards a higher life and is a blessed gift of God. Spiritual anæmia and dwarfishness are the sure accompaniments of self-righteous complacency. And there is a true sense in which even the best of men may exclaim, with the Poet :—

“So vile I am, how dare I hope to stand
 In the pure glory of that Holy Land?
 Before the whiteness of that Throne appear?
 Yet there are Hands stretched out to draw me near.”

Our best actions, our very prayers and worship, are so stained and cold, and often so reluctantly entered upon, that they partake of the nature of sin. There are often applicable, even to them, the words—“the iniquity of the holy things.” The Prophet Malachi charged the Jews with complaining of their religious duties—“What a weariness it is!” Is not a similar feeling apt, secretly, to beset at times even the devotion of us who profess to be Christians?

Every Christian, whatever his position, or reputation, may truly feel and confess, with the great Apostle, that he is as “the chief of sinners,” having no more intrinsic merit than the worst of men, and only exempted by social or geographical accidents, or by advantageous environments, from sharing in the worst crimes and grossest sins of fellow creatures far less favourably situated. He may always appropriate for himself the poor Publican’s prayer—“God be merciful to me a sinner!”

And further, our total indebtedness to God for His love and countless daily mercies, will always be increasing, throughout our existence, here and hereafter.

“Each day the *debt* must greater be,
 Swelling throughout Eternity.”

Yet, like the subject of the Atonement, the human soul may also be advantageously regarded in its *positive* aspects of gifted goodness, as well as in its *negative* aspects in regard to sin. St Paul, in the third chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, reiterates the Psalmist’s statement that “there is none that doeth good, no, not one,” and yet, in the fifteenth chapter of the same Epistle, he writes—“I am persuaded of you, my brethren, that ye are *full of goodness*.”

All love, whether Divine, or human, must have its commencement and incitement in some intrinsic, or believed goodness, or pleasing quality, in its object. The word

charity, often synonymous with love, is akin to the Latin *carus*, signifying dear, or estimable, and implies appreciation based on some worthiness in the object. Even the very worst men and women have grand immortal capacities for ultimate good and possibilities of eternal growth. A man, standing at the foot of a vast mountain, miles in height, will still be existent and sentient, when, in the lapse of immeasurable ages, that mountain may have utterly vanished. Hence so precious a thing as a human soul becomes worthy even of God's own love, and also of earnest human effort for its evangelisation and salvation.

Again, an acorn, in a muddy forest path, becomes an interesting object to a thoughtful wayfarer, when he regards it as having in it the possibility of becoming a great century-lasting oak-tree. Similarly the most squalid and degraded of human beings have in themselves the germs, or capacities, of infinite moral development.

Christ's merits avail to procure all that is good in men, however rudimentary at present. And, doubtless, in due time, He will secure its successful growth and use.

That saintly Unitarian youth, Travers Madge, of Manchester, wrote that he found "mines of goodness" amongst the denizens of its slums. And the matron of the women's prison, in the same city, told the Author, when visiting it, that even amongst the most degraded women there were to be found some feelings amenable to the restorative influences of sympathy and help. She mentioned a most notorious local prostitute, a frequent inmate of the gaol, as having been a true friend to young girls, in trying to warn and guard them from the path of ruin into which she herself had fallen.

In everyone there is something hopeful, something of what the old Friends termed "Universal and saving Light." But it is all, and always, a gift won by Christ's merits and Cross. And everywhere, we may trust that He will not forsake, finally, the work of His own hands, but "perfect that which concerneth" us all. Thus in all His human

children there is some real basis for "admiration, hope and love."¹

¹ In most ages, as also at the present day, there has existed, in some of the Churches, a certain excellently intentioned class of persons who have been styled Mystics. They cultivate a special regard to God as "The Divine Immanence," or "The Inward Light," or "Christ within," and have always cherished a reverent appreciation of the influence of the Holy Spirit in themselves as *individuals*. But at the same time many of these good people have neither possessed, nor sought, any active part, or comparative success, in the evangelization of the world.

The reason would appear to consist in their minor degree of devotion to God's *outward* and *historic* manifestation in the Incarnation and the Cross, both as the chief source and exemplification of the Holy Spirit. For the Divine Immanence was, and is, supremely manifested in the Lord Jesus Christ, crucified and risen, and, in its *perfection*, in Him *only*. Pentecost was based on Calvary. And the chief fruits and gifts of the Holy Spirit, such as love, are pre-eminently associated with, and derived through, Christ's self-sacrifice; yet in much of the Mystic literature there seems to be an inadequate sense of sin and of the preciousness and necessity of Christ's death, as the *essential means* for procuring spiritual gifts for men by access to the Holiest.

And further, in proportion as Christians are really gifted with Christ's Spirit, they tend to share actively in His sympathies with universal humanity. The Rev. W. L. Walker observes (in his excellent work on "The Spirit and the Incarnation")—"The Spirit of love is essentially a *social* spirit, which not only inspires to all that is true and just, but cannot fail to seek to 'do good and communicate.' It is a commonplace of religious speech to say that the great want of the Church is the Spirit. This is true; but it would be still more helpful to remember that the great want of the Spirit is the Church. The Apostle says—'The Church is the body of Christ.' The Spirit of God and of Christ *needs* a body to be its organ and expression in the world. It is therefore seeking to possess us and to use us in its service." Mr Walker also says that we are apt "to be praying to Christ to do things which He cannot do now, or which He can only do through His disciples and Church. Christ has told us plainly that He is not now in the world, but we are in the world and His Spirit is in us, and to us He looks to represent Him and to do His present work."

The Mystic spirit tends towards an individual isolation which is not remote from a refined form of sinful selfishness. Solitude and contemplation are very valuable, as occasional aids to the religious life, but when, as often with the Mystics, they are chief constituents of religion, they become snares and hindrances to that service to humanity which Christ and His Spirit require. His manifest blessing rests rather on the active Evangelist, sounding forth the message of the Cross, than on the highly moral, but non-militant, Mystic. In view of the great needs of the world for spiritual and social amelioration, the Mystics seem to resemble the tribe of Ephraim, who "being armed, and carrying bows, turned back in the day of battle" (Ps. lxxviii. 9). It is noteworthy, for example, that in the Society of Friends, amongst which denomination Mysticism has always found a considerable degree of welcome, the Society's work of Home and Foreign Missions is almost

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exclusively carried on, and supported, by the more Evangelical and less Mystic, portion of that body. And this is a marked feature amongst them on both sides of the Atlantic.

Whilst salvation, in its widest and most enduring extent, has special reference to Eternity, yet there is a certain sense in which the redemption of humanity, from sin and misery, depends upon *present* Physical and Social Conditions. This aspect of it was prominently regarded by the Lord Jesus, during His Incarnation, and of late years has received more attention than previously, particularly on the part of those persons who style themselves "Christian Socialists," in distinction from agnostic, or anarchistic Socialists.

Inasmuch as the causes of bad social conditions, or besetments, such as ignorance, intemperance, cruelty, war, bigotry, pauperism, and insanitary neglect, are also very fruitful sources of sin against God, both directly and indirectly, Christ devoted a large portion of His work to the exemplification of mercy and kindness, the inculcation of justice and purity, and the healing of blindness, lameness, palsy and other hindrances to self-help. And all this was truly an important part of His mission to "save His people from their sins." For evil physical environments "shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against men."

In modern life, how effectually do bad social conditions prevent multitudes from coming to God, or realizing their eternal interests. Their extensive sway constitutes a powerful obstacle to the reception of the Gospel, just as undrained and unploughed land renders the work of the seed-sower useless. The preparation of souls for Eternity largely depends upon the surroundings of those souls in this life. And it is an encouraging sign that this is being increasingly recognised by churches and individuals.

Both in sermons to adults and in the instruction of the young, a more frequent inculcation of Social Service, as an important part of Christian and religious duty, would arouse much more interest and practical effort than often attends religious addresses. And in proportion as any man takes

a share in endeavours to cleanse the Morals, promote the Health and diminish the sources of Pauperism, Ignorance and Intemperance around him, in so far he is following Christ in saving the world from sin and in promoting the progress of eternal as well as earthly salvation. Thus, too, he helps to "roll away the stone" from the sepulchres of souls buried in moral darkness from the sight of the glory of the Lord.

It is an abiding and fundamental truth that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." And there is a certain sense in which the duty of the Christian Church to "bind and loose" become a permanent and important obligation. Not only is it needful to "loose" men from unreasonable terrors, but also to "bind" them to duty, by the steady reiteration of the certain retribution which awaits wrong-doing. And this is now the more necessary, in view of the reaction, in modern times, from old Augustinian and Calvinistic extremes of doctrine.

In 1902, the Author wrote a paper entitled "The Eschatological Pendulum" (for the "Friend's Quarterly Examiner"), in which he remarked—"In nearly all classes of Society, the regard for both public worship and private devotion, for Sunday and for the Holy Scriptures, seems to be relaxed, compared with the state of things, fifty or more years ago. In fashionable society it is not 'good form' to refer to religious and eternal sanctions. Governments, Legislatures, Municipal Authorities and the Electors of popular Councils seem to attach very little regard to the really vast importance of the Biblical Education of the youth of the community. And the great body of Socialists (especially in foreign countries) avow themselves to be, for the most part, Agnostics or Atheists."

The causes of this lack of the ever-essential fear and honour of God, are, however, not altogether of modern growth. They largely have their root in a too general acceptance of a theory of Forgiveness of Sin, not accordant either with Christ's statements, or with God's laws of the human constitution. Hence it is a matter of great import-

ance, both for individuals and communities, to consider, more carefully than is often done, the real nature and limits of Forgiveness, and to seek a satisfactory reply to the questions : What does Forgiveness imply ? and—What does it *not* imply ?

Robert Louis Stevenson, the popular novelist, is reported to have said : “ So far as I have gone, in life, I have never been able to discover what forgiveness means.” And an American author, Walt Whitman, remarked that he never felt any need of being saved, or forgiven. Probably millions of persons entertain a similar indifference in regard to this matter, and are blind to the absolute necessity of their own access to God’s helping presence and renewed favour, in order to enable them to escape, or emerge from, the “ outer darkness ” which must accompany unrepented sin, here, or hereafter.

A too prevalent conception and enunciation of God’s Forgiveness is that it signifies, not only the renewed communion with God’s pure Spirit, but also the removal, from the offender, of all the *effects* and *necessary retribution* of past sins, or injuries. And immense is the mischief wrought by such a doctrine, especially when combined with a belief that the parable of the Prodigal Son fully represents the unconditional grant of such pardon.

Even human forgiveness may teach us something of the nature of Divine pardon. For if, for example, a man enters a garden and wantonly destroys a certain tree, the owner may thereafter forgive him, or be friendly with him, but that does not undo, or rectify, the mischief done. And the wrong-doer is not thereby free from the duty of making reparation for his act.

Similarly, Forgiveness, in the Christian sense, appears, from the Bible, to be restricted to the restoration of the sinner to God’s favour and presence, as a gift bestowed in view of Christ’s infinite merits, and in order to have thus granted to him the essential help for better conduct than in the past. But this does not nullify the solemn truth

that "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." That is one of God's great fixed laws, both of the spiritual and physical world. Nor does it obviate the abiding duty of Reparation, either in this life, or in a future state.

A common idea is that the forgiveness of sin implies a total escape from the *beneficent discipline* needed by the sinner. And this doctrine has been, and is, the source of incalculable wickedness in the world and hypocrisy in the churches. So far as this life is concerned, to many persons, the presumed Forgiveness of sins may appear to involve little or no difference in their condition. And if so, a great awakening may await such persons, beyond the grave.

Dr G. Vance Smith remarks (in his "Phases of the Atonement") : " A certain punishment for sin is, in truth, mercifully bound up with our nature—appointed for the sinner by the Creator Himself. The true expiation of sin, before the All-Righteous, can only be in the sinner's return to right ways, in his penitence, his resistance of passion and self-indulgence, his seeking to undo, or remedy, the wrong he has done to another, his turning to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God."

God Himself emphatically declared the distinction between pardon and reformatory retribution, when He proclaimed Himself to be "of great mercy, *forgiving* iniquity and transgression *and* by no means clearing the guilty" (Numbers xiv. 18). The *guilt* of sin (from the Anglo-Saxon word *gildan*, to pay) would therefore seem to imply that degree or amount of amends which even the forgiven sinner still has to pay, in some manner, for his own good.

If a man, by youthful dissipation, ruins his health and mars his life, he may repent and obtain forgiveness; but that will not undo, or nullify, the mischief previously wrought upon himself and perhaps upon others. A hymn writer observes, with reference to what is lightly and popularly termed "sowing wild oats" :—

" Oh what shall the harvest be ?

Sown in the darkness, or sown in the light,

Sown in our weakness, or sown in our might.
 Gathered in Time, or Eternity,
 Sure, oh, sure, will the harvest be."

A profligate man may ruin the life of some poor girl, or of many. He may subsequently repent (though this is not usual in such cases) and become converted and forgiven. But that does not at all undo, or remove, the ruin wrought. And according to the declarations of Christ and the Apostles, about every one reaping whatever has been sown, and receiving hereafter the things done in the body, there must be awaiting even such a pardoned offender a very painful and prolonged process of correction and reparation.

Some of the wisest of earthly rulers have adopted as a mode of correction, the process of making the offender rectify his wrong. Herbert Spencer, in his valuable Essay on Education, strongly recommends it as the best way of dealing even with the faults and misdeeds of children. This rectification of wrong, in various forms of Restitution, or Reparation to the Injured, was a characteristic feature of the ancient Babylonian Code of Hammurabi, and also of the legislation of Moses. Modern jurisprudence and criminal administration have greatly retrograded in this particular respect. But it is quite conceivable that it may be a main element in the educational and restorative processes of eternity, thus fully to *right the wrong*.

How comparatively small has been the moral and spiritual development of the great mass of mankind, in all the centuries, at their respective periods of death! Even the best of men and women are, ethically and religiously, but as children, at the end of the most privileged of earthly careers. The most intelligent Christians now see as only "through a glass darkly" (1 Cor. xiii.). How rudimentary are the spiritual graces wrought out, in the best persons, in this life! So that we may reasonably conclude that only a preliminary stage of Salvation is possible to any on this side of eternity. And we have no reason to suppose that the moment of death makes a radical change in the actual con-

stitution of the soul. God's operations are, in general, very slow and gradual, especially when the consent and winning of the human will is essential, as it must be for Salvation.

It may perhaps be a part, and a specially happy portion, of the employment and training of redeemed spirits, to descend, at times, like their blessed Lord and Master, into the "prison house" of Hades, and to take an active share in the great work of soul-reclamation there. Christ tells us that "there is joy in the presence of the Angels of God over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance" (Luke xv. 7). How great, then, and how real, may be the joy of the saved ones, to exert themselves hereafter in order to secure such a happy result; doubly happy for its objects and its promoters. Self-denying love may possibly and worthily continue to be a feature of heavenly lives, as also of Christ's own eternal nature.

A vast proportion, myriads of millions, of all the human race, have died in infancy, in idiocy, in insanity, in ignorance of God, or in profound cloudiness and darkness of soul. To this very day, how very few, comparatively, of the hundreds of millions of mankind, whether in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, have a vital realisation of the things of God and Eternity!

Then what splendid fields of evangelisation, instruction and training, may these vast multitudes offer, hereafter, for the joyous labours and happy lives of the millions of more privileged spirits of the already elect and redeemed! *Such* beatific and Divine work would indeed make Heaven a reality, and not the poor, unattractive sort of indolent existence so commonly pictured in hymns and sermons. How selfish, how useless, is oftentimes the Heaven of dogmatic representation! It is no wonder that most men do not seem to be charmed, or attracted, by such presentations. Percy Greg has remarked that the churches have too generally proclaimed a Hell too horrible to be believed in, and a Heaven too dull to be desired. But an

existence of unwearyable, joyous energy, in serving God and His creatures, with ever-increasing love, would constitute a Heaven worthy of universal effort to attain.

And there is a grand source of future reward and joy, to be looked for, in the Beatific Vision, of the risen Lord Jesus Christ, in Heaven. What a blessed education, in itself, to the members of human families and circles, is the continuing encouragement and exhilaration derived from the companionship of some beloved and genial parent, or from some noble and affectionate comrade! How infinitely efficacious and elevating, then, must be the everlasting presence of Christ, to His innumerable children, in the Eternal world! How blessed must be the animating influence of the visible revelation of God's love in the abiding and triumphant Saviour! How unspeakably gracious is this gift, to man, of future personal *access* to the infinite Creator in Christ, as the manifestation of a Heavenly Father rendered eternally apprehensible.

Well might the dying philosopher, Sir David Brewster, exclaim: "I shall see Jesus; and that will be grand!"

During the writer's Secretaryship, he became acquainted with two good and interesting men, who, jointly, exercised a great influence in breaking down, amongst many of their countrymen, a belief in the old Augustinian and Calvinistic dogmas about general damnation. These were Henry Dunn, the Secretary of the London Borough Road School Committee, and the Rev. Edward White, author of "Life in Christ." The writer carefully studied their works and listened to their expositions, but was able, finally, to accept "the Larger Hope," even in greater degree than either of those gentlemen. For Henry Dunn, in his "Destiny of the Human Race," did not commit himself to absolute Universalism, whilst Mr White strongly opposed it. The latter propounded a system of "Conditional Immortality," according to which, those, and those only, who believe in Christ, will receive the gift of eternal life, whilst the unbelieving and the disobedient will ultimately be deprived of

all life, and actually annihilated. But this theory may well be deemed untenable. Christ tells us to "overcome evil with good." But every finally unsaved soul, or annihilated being, would seem to be a case of Divine failure to overcome evil with good and also a continuing victory of Satan.

Really *Scriptural* Universalism affords no encouragement to those persons who may exclaim: "Let us sin as much as we choose, for we shall all come right in the end." That "coming right" may involve some stages from which the anticipator may well shrink. The process is not likely to be other than an astonishment, both to the believers in the dogma of Forgiveness without Correctional Retribution and also to the adherents of that careless and mischievous pseudo-"Universalism," which is especially common in the United States.

One of the best books, if not the very best, on Scriptural Eschatology, is entitled "Illustrations of the Divine Government," by Doctor Southwood Smith. It was published early in the Nineteenth Century and long before such writers as Henry Dunn, Edward White, Dean Farrer and Professor F. D. Maurice invited public attention to "the Larger Hope." Its author remarks, "If all punishment be corrective, it follows that as much as is necessary to eradicate sin will be inflicted. This, to the sinner, is a most alarming consideration."

And an American theologian, Dr W. Newton Clarke, (in his "Christian Theology") says: "A hope of final restoration opens no easy path. Nothing but just such an humble and holy return to God, as Christ now demands, can ever, in any imaginable state, or world, bring salvation. The most serious danger springs from the idea that salvation is something else than transformation into the likeness of the good God." And hence the unwisdom and error of those "Revivalists," and others, who ask people "Are you saved?" For salvation is a process for Eternity, as well as Time. A clergyman who was accosted with the above question, rightly replied, "I trust that I am being saved."

The threatenings and warnings of real New Testament Universalism are calculated to alarm and deter transgressors and hypocrites. Its promulgation and acceptance amongst all classes of the Community would tend to effect beneficial results both in the Church and World. For it would scatter to the winds those wide-spread sources of wickedness and of carelessness, the separation of faith from works, the dogma of unconditional and non-reformatory pardon, and of the absence of corrective penalty from transgression.

It would reawaken many to the very first message of Christ's own preaching: "Repent! for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand!" Awake from absorption in merely temporal and sensuous objects, to a sense, and a pursuit, of the privileges and the joys of a voluntary co-operation with God's sovereign purpose of eternal blessing for every child of His own most beneficent creation.

Its general reception would deprive Infidelity and Atheism of a chief cause of their existence. It, and it alone, seems to solve the varied and mysterious problems of the Existence of Evil and Pain, of Free Will, Necessity, Foreordination, Predestination and other ancient difficulties of the theologians and of the race. It may unlock much of the secrets of Past, Present and Future. It is consoling to man and glorifying to God. It tends to deter from sin and animate to righteousness.

An important influence is produced upon the human soul, in proportion as its estimate of God fosters a belief in His love and holiness, as attributes possessed by Him in the *highest conceivable* degree. And we are so constituted that we cannot really love Him unless we feel that He loves us, both individually and collectively, and that His love has cost Him some personal sacrifice. Our affections can only be called forth by that which is attractive to our own nature and felt to be promotive of our interests. And any statements respecting the Divine justice and righteousness, appealing to our convictions, must necessarily be in

harmony with our own sense of justice and right, implanted in our hearts by God Himself.

Christ exhorts us to "consider the lilies." And their myriads of exquisitely beautiful and perfect blooms teach us the lesson that our Almighty Heavenly Father is able to love perfectly all the countless millions of His human children, with the fullest satisfaction of their individual yearnings for His eternally affectionate regard. The lilies, and other beauties of created objects, also suggest that the Maker of such innumerable attractions must Himself be characterized by perfection in spiritual loveliness and affection.

"It is God : His love looks mighty,
But is mightier than it seems.
'Tis our Father : and His fondness
Goes out far beyond our dreams.

"For the love of God is broader
Than the measures of man's mind ;
And the heart of the Eternal
Is most wonderfully kind."—FABER

The lilies also, with other flowers, illustrate God's perfection of creation in the Microscopic Realm, as well as in the regions of telescopic vastness. And this perfection is analogous to the completeness of His spiritual power and excellency in the infinite condescension of the Incarnation. Some persons speak of the Most High as being too grand a being to concern Himself with the interests and the salvation of poor humanity on this earth, which is but as a speck amongst the other innumerable worlds. But such an opinion really limits and belittles God. It has been remarked "the Sublime dwells not in space." Or, at least, there is as much, if not greater, sublimity in the minutest beauties of God's creation, as in His most stupendous works. The teachings of modern science respecting the smallest conceivable atoms and the microscopic revelations of the exquisite beauties in such objects, for instance, as Diatoms and Foraminifera, scarcely, if at all,

perceptible to the unassisted eye, are as demonstrative of power and wisdom as the wonders displayed or suggested by the telescope. This comprehensiveness of Divine regard is also expressed in the Biblical declaration that "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day."

Perhaps God's operations in the minute, and the very finite, may even be considered as the very grandest of all His sublimities. For this is in accord with the inspired truth, that the Lord Jesus Christ, although so minute in visible size, as man, when compared with the omnipresence of God, is yet the very "*brightness* of His glory."

A German theologian, Ernest Sartorius, remarks: "It is glorious to be great and unlimited; it is sublime to be exalted and majestic; but it is grander and more sublime for greatness to humble itself, voluntarily to lay aside the splendour of majesty, and, out of love to the little and the low, to become little and low." And this was what God in Christ did. For as St John declares, "*the Word became flesh*," even that mighty Spirit, or Word, who was "with God"; and "was God," and "all things were made by Him." Yet He condescended to the Incarnation, to enter the tomb and "Taste death for every man," and to conquer death for us eternally.

"Praise to the Holiest, in the height,
And in the *depth*, be praise!"

The cultivated reason, and the innate sense of what is right, enable us, more or less, to appreciate moral excellence and spiritual beauty in their human manifestations, as in the self-sacrificing love of a mother, or the pitying sympathy of a father. And by a similar inward consciousness, or ideal, of the supreme goodness to be looked for in the archetypal Heavenly Father, it is consistent with our impressions in our "best moments," to conclude that that glorious Being must have had an infinitely beneficent and all-comprehensive purpose in creating mankind. This

purpose, we may well believe, to consist in calling into existence an illimitable number of intelligent spirits, in order to train them, through indefinite periods of needful discipline and gracious moral education, for everlasting happiness and usefulness, and for the development, in them, of the highest and the holiest capacities and affections.

And for the promotion of this sublime object, God has, through His own Incarnation and infinitely condescending sympathies, in the Lord Jesus Christ, presented to this particular world a supreme manifestation of His love, given for the attraction and production of filial obedience and devout adoration. And further, with a similar condescension, He visits His children with the precious, personal help and comfort of His Holy Spirit, and often also, perceptibly and paternally, interposes in the events of their individual lives.

This *personal* experience of God's love, through Spiritual influences, and in answers to prayer, and in Providential interpositions, constitutes a most valuable evidence of Divine and Eternal Truth, *apart* from Biblical or other evidence. It is "the witness of the Spirit," in the heart, and is a most reliable and final anchorage for the soul. It is not to be shaken by the assaults of critics, or sceptics.

Both probability and analogy warrant a conjecture that these dispensations of the Almighty's grand paternal beneficence may also be extended to the innumerable other worlds of the Universe. Some of the most sincere Christians have cherished a hope in such a sublime "eternal purpose" of Divine Love, as being eminently consistent with the infinite grace and glory of the Most High.

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PRINTED BY
TURNBULL AND SPEARS,
EDINBURGH

MARCH 1905

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